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# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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8 November 1985

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ANGOLA

BRIEFS

FOREIGN MINISTRY--External Relations Minister Afonso van Dunem Mbinda yesterday signed and issued dispatches appointing Brito Souzinho to the post of director for Africa and Middle East division; Ana Maria Teles Carreira as director of judicial and consular affairs; Alfredo Neto as director for Western Europe and North America division, Albino Liberato as director of budget administration and management, Filipe Martins as head of Economic Affairs Department; Agostinho Oliveira as head of the Department of Accountancy and Treasury; and Joao Neto as head of the Department of General Administration. [Summary]  
[Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1200 GMT 19 Oct 85 MB]

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LIBERIA

SECOM ISSUES ELECTION DAY GUIDELINES

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 11 Oct 85 p 8

[Article by Sam H. Johnson]

[Text] Government has threatened to dismiss or execute any soldier caught behaving unruly or engaging in acts of atrocity during next Tuesday's general elections.

The exact penalty to be meted out against rowdy soldiers will depend on the gravity of their acts, according to a memorandum issued by the Armed Forces of Liberia to ensure the orderly behaviour of soldiers during the elections.

The memorandum, made public, yesterday by the chairman of the Special Elections Commission (SECOM), Emmett Harmon, during a meeting representatives of political parties, also states that soldiers voting during the elections will do so in plain clothes and report back to their headquarters after casting their votes.

The memorandum further prohibits the carrying of weapons of any kind by soldiers within the vicinity of polling stations and order military personnel to abstain from alcohol on the election day.

Adherence to the AFL memorandum is to be rigidly enforced by the Military Police.

In addition to these measures by the AFL, SECOM chairman Harmon said any citizen found by his commission to be obstructing the election process on that day would be immediately arrested, forfeit their voting rights and prosecuted in keeping with the laws.

The commission also directed that all bars shops, nightclubs and other places of entertainment be closed from 6. p.m. on the eve of the elections until 6 p.m. on the day of the elections.

This is to ensure there is no harassment or misbehaviour by any citizen on the day of the elections," Mr. Harmon explained.

He warned that any entertainment center or nightclub found operating from the eve of election till the next day will be closed and its proprietor arrested and prosecuted. On the activities of party supporters, Mr. Harmon said canvassing, profanity and loitering around polling stations will not be tolerated. Neither will his commission allow minors and insane persons in the vicinity of the polling stations, Harmon said.

**LIBERIA**

**ARMY STAFF CHIEF DUBAR ON ELECTION DAY BEHAVIOR**

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 11 Oct 85 pp 1, 6

[Text] The Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of Liberia, Lt/Gen. Henry S. Dubar, has warned that "drastic actions" would be taken against any person or group of persons who would attempt to disrupt the general elections on October 15.

Speaking in an interview with the Liberia News Agency (LINA) yesterday, General Dubar said military personnel would be placed at selected areas around the country to arrest any individuals who attempt to create chaos and confusion to discredit the electoral process.

He explained that the tents built in various communities would be used to house soldiers assigned in these areas on elections day to protect the lives and properties of citizens and foreign residents within Liberia's borders.

Commenting on the alleged beating of Unity Party senatorial candidate for Bong County, Counsellor Francis Garlawolo, recently by military personnel, in Totota, Bong County, Chief of Staff Dubar said he was informed of the incident by Mr. Garlawolo in a letter on October 8.

General Dubar said on the same day, he forwarded the complaint to the commanding general of the Armed Forces to "speedily" investigate the allegation and submit the findings as well as recommendations to his office for appropriate action.

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CSO: 3400/265

LIBERIA

LUP CANDIDATE KPOLLEH PROMISES LABOR LAW REFORM

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 11 Oct 85 pp 3, 6

[Text] The Standard Bearer of the Liberia Unification Party (LUP), Mr. Gabriel Kpolleh, has assured plantation workers in Liberia that if elected president, he would effect reforms in the labour laws of the country aimed at improving their working and living conditions.

Addressing hundreds of LUP partisans at Divison 29 in Firestone, Margibi County Wednesday, Mr. Kpolleh further said "upon taking office, a LUP government" would enter into negotiations with the plantation companies in the country to review and update all agreements between them and the Liberian government.

He said the major concern of a LUP government in Liberia would be to improve the "condition of the poor people of this country", who he said, "have for a long time been left out of national planning".

Mr. Kpolleh also said upon assumption of office, his government would ensure the protection of the rights of the poor people in this country", and ensure that development was spread evenly to all parts of the country as a means of improving the living standards of citizens in all parts of the country.

LUP Margibi County senatorial nominee Davie S. Kollie who also spoke at the program, urged LUP partisans in the country to remain united and committed to promoting their standard bearer, "whatever the circumstances might be."

Meanwhile, officers of the Youth Wing of the Margibi branch of the LUP have been installed into office by the party's deputy campaign manager, Frank Walke.

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LIBERIA

MAN ARRESTED WITH COUNTERFEIT U.S. DOLLARS

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 1 Oct 85 pp 1, 6

[Text] A Sierra Leonean, identified as David Monwu, has been arrested by the Joint-Security forces in Monrovia for allegedly being in possession of \$150,000 worth of "black paper" money believed to be U.S. counterfeit notes.

Disclosing this at the press briefing yesterday, the chairman of the Joint-Security Commission, Col. Edward P. Massquoi, said the man was arrested at the Star Hotel on Benson Street yesterday following a tip-off by an unidentified policeman.

Monwu, who was also at the press briefing told newsmen that the counterfeit notes were given to him by a white man he simply identified as "Johnny" in the Senegalese capital, Dakar.

He further explained that he and Johnny travelled to a diamond mining town in the Republic of Guinea where he said his brother gave the whiteman \$36,000 for the consignment of counterfeit notes which, according to the whiteman, amounted to five million dollars.

Monwu said he came to Monrovia last week to buy chemicals to print the "black notes."

The box containing the counterfeit notes had inscribed on it "\$150,000 U.S. federal reserves notes."

The box also contained an instrument believed to be a tester and a little white bottle containing some liquid believed by security officers to be the printing chemical.

Col. Massaquoi has appealed to the public to be cautious of certain criminals whose motive he said was to dupe them of their fortune by playing the "black money" tricks with them.

He said no country in the world would allow its currency to be used dubiously, and noted that such acts on the part of "these unscrupulous persons was seriously affecting Liberia's economy."

He called for the cooperation of the public in arresting such persons, adding, "counterfeit notes are wide-spread in our country today".

Col. Massaquoi said after thorough investigation by the police, culprit Monwu would be turned over to the Ministry of Justice for prosecution.

According to Chairman Massaquoi, the co-chairman of the Joint-Security Commission, Mr. Bangalay Saysay and Lt. Col. Sam Kamara of the National Police Force are heading the investigation team.

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LIBERIA

COOPERATION WITH CHINA DETAILED

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 1 Oct 85 pp 5-6

[Article by G. Kparcon Nardo]

[Text] Liberia and the People's Republic of China established diplomatic ties in 1977.

The two Third World countries, in a genuine effort to concretize their relations, signed an economic and technical cooperation in 1978 providing for the Chinese government's assistance to Liberia in various fields.

China-Liberia relations gained momentum following the April 12, 1980 Revolution with the visit of Head of State CIC Dr. Samuel K. Doe to China in May 1982, and a subsequent visit to Liberia in 1984 by the Chinese Vice Premier [name indistinct] Jiyuan.

In his report to the nation from the Afro-Asian-Arab shuttle on May 17, 1982, Dr. Doe asserted: "considering the continued cooperation we have received from the People's Republic of China, we can confidently state that this nation has certainly proven to be a friend of our country in general and our government in particular."

At a banquet held in honour of the Liberian Leader in Peking during his visit to China, Chinese Premier Zao Ziyang had said: "It is pleasing to note that as in its relations with other developing countries, the People's Republic of China has demonstrated a keen sense of sincerity in its dealings with Liberia."

With these frank exchange of thoughts between the leaders of the two nations, Chinese assistance to Liberia, as spelt out under an accord signed in 1978, has diversified in post revolutionary Liberia.

Among several on-going and completed projects undertaken by the Chinese government are the multi-million dollars Liberia National Sports complex now nearing completion in Paynesville, Monrovia, and the Chinese Medical Team providing medical services at the Liberia Government Hospital in Tubmanburg, Bomi County.

The Liberia National Sports complex covering 41.64 acres is one of 19 stadia constructed by the Chinese government in 19 countries during the last 13 years.

Construction work on the stadium which was pre-financed by the Chinese government began in April 1982 with a 140-man construction team.

According to Mr. Zao Wenbing, Deputy Director of the Chinese Construction team, beside the suspended gynasium, and swimming pool which are to be undertaken by the Liberian government, the entire enclosure of the stadium will be completed in December this year.

The stadium, with a canopy of 186 meters, has a translator electric scoreboard, 100-bed sportsmen hotel, 209 rooms in the main stadium for coaches, players and janitors, 33 toilets, 12 foundations, seven sale counters, and three clinics. It is capable of seating up to 30,000 spectators.

There is also parking space for 200 VIP and 60 staff vehicles, and courts for nine games including basketball and volleyball.

In the medical arena, a team of 14 Chinese doctors arrived here in July 1984 and are currently catering to the health needs of hundreds of patients pouring into the Government Hospital in Tubmanburg, Bomi County.

The team led by Dr. Wu Yequan comprises 11 doctors, a translator, cook and driver for whom the Liberian government provides living quarters.

In 1984, the team treated 54,193 patients suffering from diseases ranging from 290 different diseases ranging from malaria to heart infection. Four hundred and sixty-seven of these were emergency cases. The Chinese doctors also performed 791 major operations impossible at the J.F.K. Hospital in Monrovia, according to Dr. Wu.

With the help of a modern pharmacy stocked with Chinese manufactured drugs, the team treats about 300 patients daily from around the country. Due to the lack of adequate beds at the hospital, 80 patients can be admitted at present.

The Chinese gynecologists, surgeons, pediatricians, anesthesiologists, pharmacists and laboratory technicians perform equally well, but most patients admire acupuncturist Dr. Liu Jiayin who uses the 2,000-year-old Chinese method of curing diseases.

Acupuncture, according to Dr. Jiayin, is an ancient method of relieving pain and treating diseases by inserting needles into various parts of the body. This treatment has been internationally recognized since 1960.

On the whole, the performance of the Chinese team has been described as excellent by patients discharged from the 32-year-old Government Hospital.

The leader of the Chinese medical team, says this trend of appreciation for their services will indeed cement the friendship which both governments seek to promote in various dimensions.

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CSO: 3400/266



MADAGASCAR

BRIEFS

U.S. FOOD CREDIT--The United States opened a line of credit worth eight million dollars for the benefit of Madagascar on September 27 for food aid. Six million dollars will go on purchasing 20,900 tonnes of rice and the remainder will be used for the acquisition of 2,700 tonnes of vegetable oil. In a communique the United States embassy in Antananarivo said the agreement had been signed earlier than usual because of Madagascar's need to import the food before the end of the year, or at the latest by the beginning of 1986. I.O.N.--This news can only be welcomed in Madagascar, whose capital of Antananarivo is currently facing a serious shortage of rice. However, it is interesting to note that the signature of this agreement, earlier than planned, coincides with president Didier Ratsiraka's visit to Moscow. Since 1981 food aid to Madagascar from Washington has totalled 57 million dollars, 17 million of which were in the form of outright gifts. The profits obtained by selling the food on the open domestic market are invested in rural development projects and the improvement of storage and distribution facilities. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 5 Oct 85 p 7]

TRADE BALANCE BETTER--According to an official Malagasy source, Antananarivo recorded a 40 percent increase in the value of its exports in 1984 compared with those of the previous year. Moreover, as a result of reductions in the quantity of rice ordered from abroad, total imports only rose by 13 percent. In consequence, the trade deficit showed a sharp drop. Apart from hanging on to its traditional markets, Madagascar has adopted a strategy of conquering or reconquering those on its "borders," that is to say in east Africa and neighbouring Indian Ocean islands. For example, 10,000 tonnes of maize were sold to Reunion last year. Commerce with Mauritius is planned to take off once more next year, a trade agreement was signed last January with the Seychelles, and the resumption of normal relations with the Comoros should boost Madagascar's exchanges with that archipelago. I.O.N.--The increase in value of Madagascar's exports by 40 percent is not so much due to greater productivity than to a resurgence in orders for cloves, the effect of the increased value of the dollar and the devaluation of the Malagasy franc by 15 percent in 1984. Revenue from coffee sales rose from 50.3 million Malagasy francs in 1983 to 68.7 million last year, while the island's income from cloves soared from 7.5 million Malagasy francs in 1983 to an estimated 27.1 million in 1984. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 5 Oct 85 p 7]

8 November 1985

RATSIRAKA SEES GROMYKO--Malagasy president Didier Ratsiraka continued his foreign tour which began in France on September 19 and included a meeting with President Francois Mitterrand and new defence minister Paul Quiles, by going on to Moscow, where he had talks on September 30 with the Soviet head of state Andrei Gromyko. He did not meet the secretary-general of the Soviet Communist party, Mikhail Gorbachev, who was however in Moscow at the same time before leaving for France. According to the Soviet news agency Tass, the Gromyko-Ratsiraka talks took place "in a friendly atmosphere"; the Malagasy president said that his country "supports totally the Soviet Union's constructive and peaceful initiatives" and "condemns the American militaristic star wars projects." Tass said the two leaders stressed the need to "continue to improve Soviet-Malagasy co-operation on a long-term and mutually advantageous basis. After his visit to Moscow the Malagasy president went on to China, arriving on October 2. I.O.N.--It seems that the Soviet Union's main concern in inviting Didier Ratsiraka to Moscow was to obtain his support for the Soviet position in advance of the meeting between Mr Gorbachev and United States president Ronald Reagan. Moscow needs all the support it can get from Third World countries in this respect. It is not known if President Ratsiraka was given any military or economic aid in return for his backing. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 5 Oct 85 p 2]

LIBYA'S KUNG FU COMMENT--Salem Ali Salem, the Libyan ambassador, or secretary of the People's Bureau, in Antananarivo, commented somewhat ambiguously on a leaflet signed by the bureau and circulating in the Malagasy capital which said in particular: "The supreme head of the Malagasy state has committed before the dumfounded world two serious political faults in trying to use the kung-fu adepts for the dirty deeds of executing political opponents, then murdering the young kung-fu fighters on their refusal to co-operate." Analysts in Antananarivo consider the leaflet to be a forgery, but Mr Salem, speaking on September 23, did not formally deny it. He merely said, "We are only trying to help the peoples who really want to retain their sovereignty." [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 5 Oct 85 p 2]

CSO: 3400/214

MAURITIUS

BRIEFS

LOCAL POLL CAMPAIGN OPENS--The campaign for the December municipal elections in Mauritius gets under way this month. The government intends to count for electoral approval on its economic programme which has admittedly had largely positive results up to now. As for the principal opposition party, the MMM, it will try to convince voters that it was its own Paul Berenger who put the country's economy back on the rails from June 1982 when he was finance minister. The Labour party, which is now no longer in the ruling alliance, will campaign on its own. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 5 Oct 85 p 5]

PRC PROTESTS--The ambassador of the People's Republic of China in Port Louis, Chen Duan, has formally protested to the Mauritian government over the plan of the rival Taiwanese mission to organise a public ceremony on October 4 to commemorate the founding of the nationalist Republic of China. In fact this date was chosen to enable Mauritian prime minister Anerood Jugnauth to attend the ceremonies as the real anniversary is October 10. Mr Jugnauth, who is due to leave for the United Nations on October 5, has already visited Taipeh twice to negotiate gifts of rice from Taiwan. Foreign minister Anil Gayan, for his part, has let it be known that he would not be there because Port Louis recognises only one China. However, other ministers could be present. Port Louis is attempting to learn from the Taiwanese economic model and also to attract investors from the nationalist island. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 5 Oct 85 p 3]

DEBT WRITE-OFF SOUGHT--Mauritius is to ask Britain to write off the debts totalling four million pounds sterling which were run up before the country's independence in 1968, Mauritian finance minister Vishnu Lutchmeenaraidoo said in Port Louis on September 27. He said the request would be submitted to the meeting of Commonwealth finance ministers which opened in the Maldives on October 1. Ghana had already benefitted from a similar exemption, Mr Lutchmeenaraidoo added. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 5 Oct 85 p 7]

CSO: 3400/214

## SOUTH AFRICA

## STRENGTHS, WEAKNESSES OF BOTHA'S LEADERSHIP AFTER 7 YEARS

Cape Town WEEKEND ARGUS in English 28 Sep 85 p 17

[Article by Frans Esterhuyse]

[Text]

SEVEN years ago — on September 28, 1978 — Mr P W Botha took over the reins of government in South Africa.

His six years as Prime Minister and one as executive State President have been marked by astonishing political change, but equally by tension and turmoil.

The question now is whether he has reached the end of the reform road. Has he painted himself into a corner? And if so, who will take over when he steps out?

On January 12 next year he will celebrate his 70th birthday and look back on a political career of half a century which saw the rise and decline of apartheid.

He played a key role in erecting the system — and in trying to demolish it.

Few, if any, of his predecessors could have faced problems as formidable and seemingly insurmountable.

His main achievement has been the tri-cameral parliamentary system, to accommodate the Indian and coloured groups. But because of its exclusion of blacks it appears to have brought more trouble than good. From its outset

there have been tensions, unrest, mounting world criticism, serious economic problems and increasing racial and political polarisation.

The irony is that Mr Botha has probably done more than any other Nationalist leader to bring about reform, at the cost even of splitting his party.

### Crucial moments

But his hesitation on key issues at crucial moments, as most pointedly marked by his disappointing Rubicon speech, is a major flaw in his leadership. Much as he has done to bring about reform, more and more people are beginning to wonder whether he is the man to see it through.

For while he hesitates, the problems simply grow bigger and bigger.

Violence and unrest continue; police and troops remain in troubled townships; the state of emergency in large parts of South Africa remains in force; and a dear price is being exacted in the form of a declining rand and worsening international relations.

While committed to dialogue, there have been no visible signs of the Government succeeding in drawing creditable black leaders to the negotiating table. Rather, Mr Botha's criticism of businessmen for talking to the ANC indicates a hardening of attitudes which is casting a darkening shadow over the prospect of peace.

He is adamant that he will not talk to the ANC unless it denounces violence.

He has failed to get Nobel Peace Prize-winner Bishop Desmond Tutu to the negotiating table despite Bishop Tutu's initial eagerness to talk about peaceful solutions.

And even a moderate leader like Chief Mangosuthu Buthe-lezi has found himself at loggerheads with him.

His Durban address, when he had the ear of the world, was a complete miscalculation. No doubt his announcement on black citizenship rights would have carried much more weight had he made it in that speech rather than save it, almost like an after-thought, for the Free State Nationalist congress.

Whereas Mr Botha showed great purpose earlier, the impression now is of a leadership vacuum at the top, to the extent that businessmen and other politicians, like Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, feel compelled to take the initiative in providing the groundwork for negotiation in the form of a "convention alliance".

At the same time there is growing exasperation at the Government's bizarre moves in Angola and Mozambique.

Could it be that the dilemma has become too big for Mr Botha to handle, or too big for anybody else with roots in the old apartheid school?

The fact is Mr Botha — one of the main architects and builders of apartheid — is now called upon to demolish his party's own work — the product of blood, sweat and tears of nearly four decades of Nationalist rule.

## Cardinal principles

In a book on his life, published last year under the title "PW", his biographers made it clear just how deeply Mr Botha was committed to aspects of apartheid and how difficult, if not impossible, it would be for him to break away.

They wrote that the reforms initiated by him would stop when it came to certain "cardinal principles". There could be no common voters' roll, no black majority rule, and separate residential areas and separate education systems were "non-negotiable".

"In short, it is impossible for Botha to undo the whole structure of apartheid and he has no intention of doing this," the writers said.

Since he took over the reins of government, however, there have been numerous changes to abolish petty apartheid, to provide for a say in the country's affairs by other race groups and to move away from various forms of official racial discrimination.

The process continues, but uncertainty remains on how far he will be prepared to go?

SOUTH AFRICA

HEUNIS INTERVIEWED ON GOVERNMENT REFORMS

MB160720 Johannesburg Television Service in Afrikaans 1800 GMT 14 Oct 85

[Interview with Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis in Cape Town by Marius Kleynhans, Pierre le Roux, and Freek Robinson in Johannesburg on the "Network" program--live]

[Text] The process of negotiation between government leaders of all groups is being continued in all seriousness behind the scenes, following the state president's reform announcements at party congresses. The minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, is the government's chief negotiator. In our studio are our political correspondent Marius Kleynhans, reporter Andre le Roux, and our executive director Freek Robinson in microwave communication with Mr Heunis in Cape Town.

[Kleynhans] Mr Heunis, we have reached the point tonight where we have basic indications of the government's guidelines for continued discussions on black constitutional reforms. We also know that you want to keep the agenda open, but how open is this agenda really?

[Heunis] Well, it is open in the sense that anyone who wants to make definite proposals on constitutional development in the country has the right to make his own proposals. One has to accept in all fairness that different standpoints will emerge when the talks are held, but the government is not binding anyone on what he may or may not propose as preconditions. Naturally, the government has a definite, specific standpoint, just as others have, and that will naturally also be presented as part of an agenda.

[Robinson] But, minister, haven't you already decided that the agenda is not open, because the government has excluded definite proposals from the beginning, such as the question of the fourth chamber, the question of one-man, one-vote, and so forth?

[Heunis] Yes, but that represents a particular party's standpoint. It does not necessarily represent the only standpoint, and therefore, with respect to other people who hold other standpoints, they are welcome to make their proposals as well, so that we see through formulation and discussion if there are points of contact on which we can reach consensus.

[Robinson] But you do not want to talk about the options which you have yourself excluded?

[Heunis] That is not correct. All parties have also excluded specific options and others have kept their options open. Naturally, political parties have had their standpoints debated. My party also has its standpoint.

[le Roux] Minister when will the Group Areas Act be placed on the table for negotiation?

[Heunis] Very clearly, the Group Areas Act is not part of the constitutional development. My own standpoint is very simple, I think, and that is namely that we want to develop a democratic system for this country. Second, it is very clear that we cannot design a model based on the European or North American models. All the politicians in the country say that we, in the light of these unique circumstances, should find unique solutions. The uniqueness that demands this is the composition of the country's population, and the different levels of development. Therefore, the constitutional dispensation should reflect the differences, but what that specific model should be like is the basis of negotiation. Again, the standpoints people hold in this country--and it is a common standpoint--is that in this country there should be protection for minority groups. That definite acceptance implies that groups should be defined, the minority should be defined, the majority groups against whom minorities should be protected should be defined.

[le Roux] Minister, we realize that, but is it nonnegotiable? Is the Group Areas Act nonnegotiable or are you going to make it negotiable?

[Heunis] The fact is that the president has taken a standpoint that the Group Areas Act principles will continue to exist. Let me tell you immediately that we must also keep in mind that the areas people live, where they function, are part of the legal areas of specific institutions. Let me give you an example. There are legal areas local management authorities for all the groups. There are institutions responsible for those areas and they represent components, for example, of Presidents' councils which are full extensions of local authority systems.

[le Roux] Minister, to what degree are the systems you have indicated themselves the result of negotiation? Or are these prescriptive systems?

[Heunis] Naturally, the total system of which I am speaking of local authorities is a negotiated system. There is a coordinating council for local authorities where all the groups are represented. All these groups have unanimously recommended, for example, regional service councils. They have unanimously accepted the proposals on how they are to be composed. So it is the product of negotiation.

[Kleynhans] Minister, are you telling us that the steps we have seen so far are already the product of negotiation?

[Heunis] Naturally, the whole constitutional dispensation we are now experiencing and which was implemented last year was also the result of negotiation with

the groups which function within that system. It does not imply that the groups therein accept it, but it does imply that those who function within it use that system.

[Robinson] Mr Heunis, can we come back to the Group Areas Act? You know that your colleagues within the cabinet have come to believe the Group Areas Act is the one most injurious thing in their lives. Do you still not want to negotiate on that Group Areas Act?

[Heunis] Well, Mr Robinson, to me it is very clear that the other parties that are in government and that function in parliament serve under the existing laws of the country. In other words, those members are bound by the laws of the country until they are changed, just as I am. My own view supports the state president's view, namely, that for purposes of participation in government, we are all bound to those laws within the system. Naturally it is possible that people can propose specific ideals for themselves as policy, but until such time as people achieve their ideals, they must function within the existing system.

[Robinson] Let us go to the question of citizenship. It is probably the most important factor on which the whole constitutional development of South Africa must be built. What do phrases such as one constitution, one country, one citizenship for all in South Africa mean?

[Heunis] In the first place, it means exactly what it says. Let us take citizenship. The president's announcements on citizenship have various facets or aspects. It concerns, in the first place those South African citizens who live within its borders and who do not belong to a national group, who lost their citizenship when their country became independent. Second, it affects people who are citizens of independent states and who lost their citizenship, but who have permanent residential rights within South Africa. Their citizenship will be restored in terms of the announcement. Third, it affects those [who] physically live within independent states and who have citizenship of those states. They can obtain dual citizenship, if we can negotiate with the leaders of those states. You must bear in mind that independent states... [change of thought] one country cannot take steps in regard to other country's citizens without negotiation.

[Robinson] One can understand that, but does the citizenship of those within South Africa, especially the blacks, mean the absolute recognition by government that they are citizens of this country, and that progress must be made on political rights for them within this country?

[Heunis] Yes, the president has said in plain language that South African citizens of black communities will have the right to participate in the decisions concerning their lives and that they can participate in decisions on common areas. The whole process of negotiation in progress concerns the methods or the processes. No one disputes the fact that black communities must participate in the political processes within South Africa. The worrying question is how it can be done and still satisfy the other conditions, namely, the protection of minorities, maintenance of standards, and the question of the preservation of democratic systems. That is not a simple question, and therefore the



answer is not simple. Blacks within South Africa are already taking part at different levels and in different ways in political decisionmaking. The fact is that South Africa contains self-ruling states with legal areas, legislative institutions, and executive power. Naturally, the system is not complete, but it is part of the decisionmaking process in which blacks participate.

[le Roux] Minister, you identify with the state president's Port Elizabeth address, where he spoke of decisionmaking and you have said in the past that South African politicians are caught in a concept psychosis. Why don't we then speak directly of power-sharing. Why don't we say we will share power, we will scrap apartheid, we are moving away from [word indistinct] in due course?

[Heunis] Yes, but the questions you are asking are not necessarily consistent. Let us look at them in order. In the first place, the president said that black communities can participate in the decisionmaking process. Second, he said it will be valid also for matters which are common to all the population groups in the country and that means basically, that institutions should be designed where black communities will share the decisionmaking capability or power. The fact is that all people do not attach the same meaning to specific words which we use. Some do not understand power-sharing in the same way as others do, and therefore I have always contended that we avoid our terminology and rather develop the system so that the system ultimately will afford people the opportunity to live up to their principles because we are getting bound up in words, the connotation of which are not the same for all people.

[le Roux] Is that one of the reasons why today, apparently, there are no discussions going on?

[Heunis] No, I do not think that is true. There are several discussions going on in public. These are visible. What is true, however, is that there are greater and more in-depth discussions taking place on a confidential basis with leaders. For clear reasons. One does not negotiate this type of thing in public. It is negotiated on a confidential basis, so that people will not paint themselves into corners in the spotlight and are then unable to take part in negotiations.

[Kleynhans] But, sir, you will admit that the government also wants to be seen to be negotiating in the open.

[Heunis] Let us take the point you have raised. Negotiations are taking place continually in the open, at local authority level. These are visible and in statutory bodies. Negotiations are taking place continually between the government and the leaders of self-governing states. Visibly. So much so that I am only emphasizing this, because apparently this kind of information is lost to us. Most of the announcements made by the president since 25 January up to the present were in fact the results of visible negotiation with leaders of the self-governing states and leaders of independent states. So on the point about whether or not negotiations are taking place in the open or not, let me emphasize that we should not underestimate these. They are taking place, but at the same time confidential negotiations are also taking place.

[Robinson] Is that outside the homeland system, outside of the leaders who are identified only with the homelands?

[Heunis] Let us begin again at the beginning. The fact is, and you are aware of it, that the president is negotiating with various church leaders, that there are visible negotiations taking place openly, and surely every one was aware of them. Let me just say again that discussions are being conducted with a broad spectrum of leaders. Negotiations and discussions are taking place with academics on an on-going basis. Discussions are being conducted with symbolic leaders also on an on-going basis.

[le Roux] What is a symbolic leader?

[Heunis] They are people who were not elected but who are accepted by communities as leaders.

[le Roux] Such as Boesak, such as Tutu, such as Motlana?

[Heunis] Well, they can be such leaders, yes. And they can take part in talks if they distance themselves from violence. Yes.

[Kleynhans] Sir, can you tell us how far has your enlarged cabinet committee progressed with its negotiations?

[Heunis] Let me say this: The enlarged cabinet committee is nothing more than a central forum. Those negotiations have progressed to the stage where we have reached agreement with the leaders of two of the other political parties on basic procedure and methods. In addition, one of the leaders has also come to present his positions to us in the cabinet committee.

[Robinson] Sir, you say that the discussions are continuing, even with homeland leaders, and yet only last night Chief Minister Mabuza Kangwane said he is not prepared to talk until apartheid is done away with. How are we to understand that?

[Heunis] I think you should ask Chief Minister Mabuza that.

[le Roux] But can you say with confidence that constitutional discussions are in progress with the homeland leaders on the fundamental question of constitutional development?

[Heunis] The answer to that is definitely yes.

[Robinson] Can we take you back to another statement you made earlier, namely the systems which have to be developed in the future. Do we mean by these, systems other than the present homelands governments? In other words, a system for whites, coloreds, blacks, in a single South Africa?

[Heunis] No, by these systems we do not mean simply what you are formulating. The fact is that all the leaders of the self-governing states with whom we are negotiating maintain that the existence of self-governing states is a nonnegotiating item in the discussions. In other words, it is accepted even by those

leaders with whom we are negotiating that the existence of six governments such as those in which they are functioning are a part of the solution, but that this does not represent the final solution.

[le Roux] Sir, again on the second and third levels and your remarks concerning these. You have already rejected a fourth chamber. But does participation up to the highest level include parliamentary representation for blacks?

[Heunis] Let me say this about the fourth chamber. It is not only the government which has taken a stand against a fourth chamber. Many of the political leaders in the black communities have also rejected it, because they are applying themselves to a different basic constitutional dispensation, and limit themselves to it. So, let me be very clear about this, that it is not only one party which rejects a fourth chamber as a possible solution. I do not want to go into the merits or advantages of that. All I want to say is, it is also rejected by black leaders. The important point is the point of departure, which is that black communities will also take part and function in legislative institutions. What form these should take and how they will work has to be the result of negotiation.

[le Roux] But their demand is that this be within a parliamentary context.

[Heunis] But of course, their demand is that it be within a parliamentary context. Others make different demands, and therefore... [interrupted]

[le Roux] Other people, sir?

[Heunis] Many people, many groups. Let us keep in mind that the concept of a one-man, one-vote in a unitary state system is not acceptable to many people. And if someone is demanding that as an absolute requirement, then there is no basis for discussion. So I want to repeat what I said at the beginning. My government has specific positions. Other political parties have their own positions. The positions of all are on the table for negotiation and discussion. But what you are trying to do, you are trying to have a position formulated which means nothing other than that I must be prescriptive on how these models should look. If I have to do so, I can do it, but then it means it is not a negotiated solution. And I would very much, if possible, prefer to keep the discussions open to see how far we can get with a negotiated solution for this country.

[Kleynhans] Gentlemen, Mr Heunis, our time is running out. I would like to ask you what is your reaction to this weekend's talks between the leader of the official opposition and the ANC in Lusaka, and the situation that emerged with Dr Slabbert saying he thinks the ANC is still open to negotiations?

[Heunis] Well, I cannot comment on that. In the first place, I did not attend the talks. Second, I have not spoken with Dr Slabbert. I would hesitate to react to what newspapers reported as being said by a political leader. I have experience of that, to my cost. But regarding the principle of negotiation with the ANC, my government position is very clear, and that is, negotiations can take place with people who distance themselves from violence as a method of change.

[Robinson] One such leader, sir, is Chief Buthelezi, and he is also one who has rejected the fourth chamber of parliament. But it does not seem that talks between him and the government are getting started, and he is possibly one of the most important black leaders in South Africa.

[Heunis] It depends on what you mean by talks with Chief Buthelezi. In the nature of things, and in the nature of his responsibility and the nature of my own responsibility for the political development of black communities, it goes without saying that we have to talk with one another from time to time.

[Kleynhans] Sir, one last question, then we have to end. How do you feel about the problems outside government with the marketing of the government's positions? There is a general feeling that the government is not succeeding in selling its reforms, its positions.

[Heunis] Well, you have to accept one thing, and that is that there will be problems because it is only where people see institutions functioning and they actually take their place as functionaries that the message can be gotten across. It is very difficult to get a message to communities which have not yet seen the institutions developed or, in operation. I would like to suggest to you that the same applied to the constitutional dispensation which is now operating. Before that, and before it was implemented, it was difficult to propagate it. Now the institutions are propagating themselves. I believe that once the regional service councils start functioning, they will propagate themselves. I believe when a new second level system is developed and is put into operation, the same will happen. Unfortunately, we in politics have to work under the disadvantage that people accept ideas only when they have been given physical shape. Before that it remains difficult.

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CSO: 3400/223

SOUTH AFRICA

GOVERNMENT ACCUSED OF DOUBLE STANDARD REGARDING MANDELA CASE

Johannesburg SOWETIAN in English 4 Oct 85 p 14

[Joe's Burg column]

[Text]

**I**t never ceases to amaze me, this lark about double standard being bandied about by the State President, Mr P W Botha, and members of his Government.

I mean, throughout this year, I have been listening to the sickening regularity with which the Government defends its position on the release of Nelson Mandela and other political leaders in jail.

In Durban, P W Botha went to the extent of even quoting from the judgement delivered after the trial of Nelson Mandela.

They make so much noise about the fact that Mandela himself had said that he was committed to communist principles.

Now I know this subject has been flogged so much that you may be surprised that I am raising it now.

But I did believe that it is necessary, if only to show the double standards that I'm talking about.

Many of us ebony-skinned citizens may not have heard about one Robby Leibrandt.

To some, Leibrandt was a traitor. To others, and that included the National Party, he was a patriot.

In his jacket-cover notes to the book, *For Volk and Führer*, Hans Strydom states: "After the outbreak of World War 2 Leibrandt was appointed to spearhead Operation Weisdorn — the overthrow of Jan Smuts' coalition government and the establishment of a Nationalist Socialist Republic in South Africa."

The background to this is that a great many Afrikaners were against South Africa's

participation in the war, and indeed, held Hitler in high esteem.

**Vorster**

Chief in this was an organisation called "Die Ossewabrandwag," and many will recall the involvement of former Prime Minister and State President, John Vorster, in this.

The long and short of it is that Leibrandt's plans — which included the assassination of Smuts — were foiled.

He was arrested and appeared in the Pretoria Supreme Court charged with treason.

He refused to give evidence, and when he entered the court, he would give the Nazi salute. At the end, in

March 1943, he was to be found guilty.

It would be interesting, however, to note what Leibrandt said in addressing the court.

"The present democratic government has decided that it is treacherous for an Afrikaner to love his nation and folk in action.

"In whichever light democracy is presented in this country to the Afrikaner, it remains the younger brother of the pestilential communism with the eternal Jew as father of both.

He adds: "Afrikaner folk! I'm not here as a characterless paid agent of Germany, but as a deeply afflicted Afrikaner and proud, yes, fanatical soldier of the idea of Adolf Hitler. Beside the Afrikaner blood in my veins, my past in my proudest possession, a past of true love for folk and fatherland, stamped with national Socialism for ever."

Later on in his address, he states: "Afrikaner folk! Our salva-

tion does not lie in meaningless casting of votes but in action and sacrifices for our nation.

"This is borne out by the carrier of the idea planted by him whom the Almighty sent here to save the nations of this earth from a morass of suppression and suffering — Adolf Hitler."

And finally: "In that spirit, I exclaim: To hell with mercy! I demand that justice be done! Long live the Afrikaner folk! Long Live National Socialist South Africa! God be with my comrades! Die Vierkleur hoog!"

Leibrandt was sentenced to death. He appealed, but his appeal failed. Then the Smuts government decided to commute his sentence to life imprisonment.

But no sooner had the Smuts government fallen in 1948, and Leibrandt was released — by Dr Malan's Nationalist Government. Protest meetings were held throughout the country, but the Nats stood firm.

And now let us translate this exact situation to apply to Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

Why does the Government now suddenly believe that a person who has been sent to jail by a court of law cannot be freed? Did Leibrandt make a declaration against violence before he was released?

I hope that from now, the Government will stop justifying the continued detention of Mandela and others.

We do not need this type of approach to the problems in this country.

We need to talk, and talk soon. With everybody. And the ball is in the Government's court.

Any other approaches — as in the rounds of "change" announcements made by the State President — will not achieve anything.

Peace is not something that one buys off the shelf. It is the result of hard bargaining.

SOUTH AFRICA

ANC'S TAMBO AAPSO MEETING NEWS CONFERENCE

EA152354 Addis Ababa Radio Freedom in English to South Africa 1930 GMT 14 Oct 85

[Announcer-read report on an 11-13 meeting organized by the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization and hosted by the Ethiopian Government--place not specified: Recorded remarks by ANC President Oliver Tambo at a news conference given at the meeting contained with quotation marks]

[Text] Compatriots, during this past weekend, as of Friday the 11th till yesterday, Sunday the 13th, the revolutionary government of Socialist Ethiopia was hosting an emergency [words indistinct] struggling people of South Africa. The meeting was organized by the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization in cooperation with [word indistinct] Solidarity and Friendship Committee, as well as the vanguard liberation movement of our people, ANC.

Taking part in the solidarity (?meeting) were veteran freedom fighters from all over the world [words indistinct]. The ANC delegation to the meeting was led by the president, Comrade Oliver Tambo. During the course of the meeting President Tambo had occasion to hold a press conference in which he expressed the ANC's feeling about [words indistinct] of solidarity with the people of our country and explained the position of the ANC in relation to other factions of significance in the struggle. At the press conference, Comrade President Tambo was first asked to assess the significance of the emergency meeting of solidarity.

"The meeting takes place very [word indistinct] at a time when there is the greatest need for all supporters of peace and justice in the world and in South Africa and southern Africa, generally, to apply the greatest possible pressure on the apartheid system. And the emergency conference is properly called emergency because we are in an emergency situation in which the oppressed and exploited masses in South Africa are challenging the regime daily with their very lives [words indistinct] in South Africa. Daily, people are being killed and the struggle goes on. That is the moment when support is most needed to reinforce our struggle, now rather than later.

"So, we think that, first of all, the mere pulling together of the supporters of our cause at this time is in itself a great achievement for us, but beyond that it is what the delegates attending this conference will go back to do in their home areas, in their home bases, which will in fact contribute to the

pressures that we are trying to build up internationally in support of the cause of our struggle. We believe that this meeting will be widely publicized as one that was called especially to give support. And that is a message to the rest of the world to rally with [word indistinct].

"We have been some time now demanding sanctions through the United Nations and persuading individual countries to cut off their links with the South Africa regime. We have not won that battle yet. It is time for us to redouble our efforts and fight for this form of pressure because it could have very decisive effects on the apartheid system when its complements, as we expect it to complement very effectively, our own struggle. So, we attach a lot of significance and a lot of importance to this meeting and what may come out of it.

"There is a greater readiness internationally to apply pressures than has been the case for some time. And we want to push the international community to moving ahead and tightening the pressure."

Comrade Tambo was then asked by another [word indistinct] what is his response to the allegations made by the western countries and by the apartheid regime that the imposition of economic sanctions against the satanic Pretoria regime on the Africans of the country and southern Africa, and black people in Africa [words indistinct].

"This is a well-known [word indistinct] a worn-out excuse for refusing to put pressure on the apartheid system so that it can be destroyed. This argument came in the first instance not from the oppressed, because it was the oppressed who called for sanctions. We called for sanctions. We knew our positions, we knew what it meant for us and we deliberately opted for sanctions quite openly. And those who are resisting this action out of self-interest then came out with a cheap--and it is very cheap--argument that you know. But this is going to hurt the very people we want to help. I think that some of the slave owners advanced the same argument about the emancipation of slaves. They said you want to free the slaves but what will happen to them? They will die without us. We are helping them. We are feeding them. You are now--what--asking to throw them out? Its the same argument.

"And the fact of the matter is that it is the multinationals who are quick to advance it, because it is the multinationals [word indistinct] who would lose their profits when once sanctions begin to bite. Beyond that the multinationals are [word indistinct] in any way to help the system which yeilds them such profits. They prefer the apartheid system because the profit margin in apartheid South Africa is [words indistinct].

"Let no one express pity for us. We are involved in a life-and-death struggle. We do not suffer as a result of that life and death struggle [words indistinct] no question of suffering in struggle. We are sacrificing constantly. And it is our lives that we are sacrificing, that we are ready to sacrifice. Sanctions will not kill us. Even sacrifice as the result of sanctions does not involve death which we [words indistinct] from the apartheid system. So, sanctions will not kill us. Sanctions will help us to kill the system that kills us. It will help us to destroy the crime of apartheid, which is a killer.



"I think that position is perfectly straightforward. If people today are facing bullets, no one should fear that if the apartheid system is attacked, those people would lose their jobs. They are losing their lives. And as far as this business of our suffering is concerned, there is nothing we can suffer from [word indistinct]. We are suffering more than we are doing from the apartheid system. Nothing. Unemployment runs into millions as far as Africans are concerned. The (?heart) of that is precisely the apartheid system itself.

"So, it is nothing new [words indistinct]. What would be new [words indistinct] sanctions were employed is that the white supporters of the regime would be thrown out of work because firms would close down. They would be out of work. They are the government. [Words indistinct] government does their jobs by the million. But the regime would care if whites lost their jobs by the thousands or even by the hundreds, if hundreds were thrown out of work as a result of sanctions. They would want to do something about that. [Words indistinct] this regime could not hold out, not if--as must be the case--if we are stepping up our own struggle [words indistinct]." [revolutionary song]

The ANC maintains that the Botha-Malan [word indistinct] regime can no longer govern in the same old way, and that the balance of forces has tipped in favor of the revolutionary forces led by the ANC. But how strong are the forces of revolution? How far are they from bringing about revolutionary change instead of the petty reforms proposed by the Botha regime.

"Well, the apartheid system has been a solid, unchanging--unchangeable--structure. The regime did not even attempt to put a new face on the apartheid system, let alone repeal laws which were enacted when the apartheid system was being consolidated. Our struggle aims not at reforming it, dismantling it [words indistinct].

"Now how far we are from achieving that objective is not easy to say. But these so-called reforms, however meaningless they are--and they are meaningless--the regime (?has) to consider what it calls reforms as a result of the growing strength of our struggle. It finds that it can't rule in the old way. It must find a new way to rule. That is why now Botha is changing the system, but his language is beginning to change. Which means he is no longer holding on to the idea that apartheid will never change. He accepts the idea of it is going to change somewhere. But (?he wants) to try and survive for as long as is possible. So, the issue for him is survival.

"If we can survive for 10 years, he will try and survive for 10 years, if for 50 then 50 years. That is his strategy. It is a strategy of survival. Our strategy is the strategy to destroy in the shortest possible time. [Passage indistinct]

"As I say, Botha is now talking about a united South Africa. He has never spoken about a united South Africa. He is using the language of the ANC, although he means something else. [Words indistinct] come so far as to identify the reality that the country someday is going to be one country, not so many bantustans. If he is talking about a common citizenship, he is abandoning a position that he had taken, that the blacks don't belong to South Africa. That

is as a result of struggle. He is talking now about changing the pass laws. He has not changed them but even to talk about changing [words indistinct] he is trying to contain the power of the revolutionary movement, to buy off the revolution. He is manoeuvring because he cannot hold his ground any longer.

"[Words indistinct] content merely to get him to retreat. We want to destroy him. Therefore, if he retreats we pursue until he comes down. And that is the objective. So, the struggle continues getting stronger and stronger until the apartheid system cannot stand, until the people take over power." [revolutionary song]

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SOUTH AFRICA

#### ANC'S MOTIVES IN HOLDING TALKS DISCUSSED

MB210622 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 21 Oct 85

[Text] When it is taken into account that the African National Congress refuses to renounce violence as a means of achieving its political objectives in South Africa, then there must be a reason other than peaceful negotiation for its willingness to hold discussions with visiting groups from South Africa. And indeed, groups believing that by beating a path to Lusaka they can contribute to solving South Africa's problems, should give careful consideration to the ANC's motives.

Fact is that this organisation has one overriding goal: To build its image inside and outside South Africa as an alternative government which--by its own admission--wishes to achieve power through the barrel of a gun.

The ANC is a self-proclaimed revolutionary organisation. And its objectives for South Africa are no secret: It wishes to enforce a Marxist/socialist system on the population. As confirmed by at least one of the groups visiting Lusaka, the ANC is not at all interested in participating in negotiations aimed at providing fair and just protection for minority groups in the country. Nelson Mandela has let it be known that the ANC is interested only in negotiating on the issue of how power should be transferred to the organisation.

And even if certain members of the ANC were having second thoughts, it would be impossible for the leadership to deviate from its revolutionary course. In both ideology and leadership the ANC is influenced and manipulated by the South African Communist Party--regarded as one of the parties most loyal to the Soviet Union and its surrogates for financial support and weapons.

Should visiting groups therefore wish to persuade the ANC to take part in the democratic process in South Africa, a pilgrimage to Moscow would hold more promise.

Communist organisations are great negotiators--but only when it is to their advantage. And these little chats they're holding with the South African groups are extremely beneficial.

They provide public recognition for the ANC as a significant factor on the political scene. This recognition the ANC already enjoys internationally.

South Africa is not permitted to state its case at the UN General Assembly, while the ANC is virtually regarded as the legitimate representatives of the people of this country.

When internal interest groups hold talks with the ANC they are--willy nilly--promoting ANC legitimacy within South Africa as well. At the same time, the credibility of recognised internal black leaders is further undermined. These leaders then find they have to move further to the left, adopt more radical stances, in order to compete with the ANC.

Hob-nobbing with terrorists has other implications: It provides respectability to people whose savage and brutal acts have nothing to do with civilised norms. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher described terrorists as "gangs of assassins... these are not freedom fighters," she declared "and respectability should not be conferred on these people."

Terrorists love publicity and the publicity they have received from South African groups visiting them has played right into their hands. They wish to be seen as alternative government for South Africa--and even well-meaning South Africans should be careful of promoting this view, damaging the country and ruining the progress towards orderly reform.

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CSO: 3400/225

SOUTH AFRICA

NEW EVIDENCE THAT TORTURE IS WIDELY, SYSTEMATICALLY PRACTICED

Events in Recent Weeks Reveal Facts

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 4-10 Oct 85 pp 12, 13

[Article by Anton Harber]

[Text] THREE events in recent weeks have highlighted, more than ever, allegations that Security Police are torturing detainees.

- Two University of Cape Town academics released a detailed and extensive study, based on the questioning of 176 former detainees, claiming that 83 percent of detainees had been subjected to physical abuse.

- A district surgeon claimed in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court that detainees were being systematically and brutally assaulted on a massive scale by police.

- The Durban Supreme Court has heard seven separate applications from the families of detainees claiming they had been assaulted or suffered serious ill-effects from their detention.

Such allegations are not new. For example, the Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC) published a report in 1982, based on interviews with former detainees, which detailed widespread and systematic malpractices taking place in interrogation rooms.

Over the years, there have been numerous court cases and inquests that have involved allegations of torture.

These tend to come more frequently during periods of heightened political activity and tension. There was a spate of allegations after the 1960 Emergency, after the 1976/7 student uprising and after the 1980/1 schools crisis.

In 1977, the inquest into the death in detention of black consciousness leader Steve Biko brought a spate of allegations about the abuse of detainees. Similarly, in 1982, the inquest into the death of trade unionist Neil Aggett heard many witnesses claim to have been severely tortured during interrogation by the Security Police.

All of these were widely published. Some caused more of a stir than others.

A 1981 unpublished University of Cape Town thesis looked at the frequency of allegations of torture published in the press. It found that between 1975 and 1982, the press reported 161 separate incidents where torture was alleged, mostly during the political trials of former detainees.

But it was only this week that a Natal Supreme Court Judge pronounced: "If it is true that detainees are being assaulted in the custody of the police, it is a state of affairs which no civilised nation ... can tolerate for one moment."

Why this sudden judicial concern?

First, it is because there has never been such extensive and widely-sourced evidence of torture. The Police and Prisons Act both shield the interrogation room from the public eye and act to prevent the emergence of such allegations.

Furthermore, the very nature of detention without trial, which occurs indefinitely and without the prisoner being given any automatic access to independent outsiders, makes the exposure of allegations difficult.

Thus it does not necessarily follow that there are more allegations now because torture may be more common. It simply means that, for one reason or another, more evidence has emerged.

Never before has a district surgeon come forward with evidence, as was done by Dr Wendy Orr in Port Elizabeth last week. As a result, there has never before been an order, as was given by the Supreme Court, to prevent the police from assaulting ALL detainees in two entire districts.

Never before has there been the kind of evidence presented in the applications made by families of Section 29 detainees (see separate story).

And never before has an academic institution attempted a systematic and scientific study of former detainees as the University of Cape Town has done.

The evidence of each of these sources corroborates the evidence in the other sources. For example, the Cape Town study, the DPSC report and the UCT press study all report the same forms of torture and list them in the same order of frequency.

Roughly speaking, they list the most common allegations of abuse as (in order of frequency):

- Beating and general physical abuse (75 percent of respondents in the UCT study)
- Forced standing and enforced exercise (50 percent)
- Electric shocks to various parts of the body (25 percent)
- Food and sleep deprivation.
- Enforced nakedness.
- Shackling (with handcuffs, chains or leg-irons) (15 percent)
- A few cases of genital assaults and long periods of interrogation (three percent)
- Psychological forms of torture, such as threats, questioning at gunpoint, etc.
- Humiliations, such as the use of derogatory language and the withholding of toilet facilities.
- Solitary confinement.
- Suspension (the "helicopter")

The DPSC report said allegations came from all parts of the country. The UCT study said there was a higher incidence in the Eastern Cape and Border areas.

The DPSC report said that of 70 cases they analysed, 20 involved sleep deprivation, some for periods of many days and nights. A further eight involved deprivation of toilet facilities, sometimes leading to involuntary urination and the humiliation of cleaning the interrogation room afterwards.

Twenty-eight cases involved enforced standing and arduous physical exercises for long periods, sometimes days and nights. The exercises included holding heavy objects above the head, standing barefoot on bricks, press-ups, running on the spot.

There were allegations of being exposed to cold through enforced nakedness for long periods in 25 cases, sometimes worsened by being doused by water or being made to stand in front of a fan or an open window.

Eleven cases involved what must be one of the most horrifying forms of torture: what is known as the "helicopter".

The DPSC report described it thus: "The detainee is handcuffed at the wrists and the ankles, and while in a crouching position, a pole is inserted through legs and arms. He is then suspended on the pole between a table and a chair, sometimes for hours on end, while being subjected to a barrage of questions and sometimes blows.

"Other cases include suspension by the arms while handcuffed ... causing acute and excruciating pain."

In 54 of the cases, detainees alleged they had been punched, slapped, kicked, beaten with sticks, batons, hosepipes, gun butts and other objects; toes had allegedly been crushed with chairs or bricks; detainees had allegedly been dragged by the hair or had their head banged on the wall or the table.

Suffocation was reported in 25 cases, mostly by being hooded with a bag made of canvas or plastic or with a wet towel.

Electric shocks were alleged in 22 instances, invariably while the detainee was hooded. Another 14 cases involved genital assaults.

The pattern of allegations in the PE court case and the UCT study were broadly the same.

In December 1982, the Minister of Law and Order published a code to govern the treatment of Section 29 detainees.

He said: "A detainee shall at all times be treated in a humane manner with proper regard to the rules of decency and shall not in any way be assaulted or otherwise ill-treated or subjected to any form of torture or inhuman or degrading treatment".

Since then, there have been at least six deaths in detention and torture allegations have continued unabated. Now the allegations have reached new heights: the cry from ex-detainees has become a chorus.

The UCT report concluded that there was clear and definitive evidence that physical torture was widespread and was a systematic and common experience for detainees.

District Surgeon Orr's evidence in the Supreme Court last week, supported by 42 other affidavits, described an extensive daily pattern of police abuse of scores of detainees.

She said she had examined an average of about 20 newly-admitted detainees daily since the beginning of August and on August 16 had seen about 170 detainees.

"An extremely large proportion of them complained that they had been assaulted by the police," she said.

The Minister of Law and Order, Louis le Grange, told the Cape Congress of the National Party this week that neither he nor the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, would tolerate or condone illegal actions by any policeman.

The police had a proud record which could not be allowed to be damaged, and for this reason, all cases of misconduct should be publicly investigated.

However, there are few people outside of the National Party who would accept this as sufficient reassurance.

Helen Suzman, PFP spokesperson on justice, said this week that recent events called for a major inquiry by someone outside the interrogation system.

"It is no good having the police inquire into their own system of interrogation. It has to be someone outside of the system," she said.

She suggested that the abuse had been increased by the fact that police believed they had immunity in terms of the State of Emergency.

"There is always a danger that these things will happen as long as people can be held without trial and can be held incommunicado. But the danger is heightened by the fact that the police seem to think that the Emergency indemnity gives them free rein," she said.

There was a need for a proper inquiry and a return to the due process of law, she said.

The DPSC is opposed to current security legislation which allows for detention without trial. However, if such legislation is to exist, it argues that a detainee should be given access to a lawyer, relatives, a private doctor and reading material of his or her choice.

There should also be an effective and independent machinery for enforcing and policing the treatment of detainees and an enforceable code setting out standards of interrogation.

The UCT study recommended that the whole system of detention in terms of security laws be scrapped, that the rights of detainees should be laid down by parliament, an independent body to which police and prison officials are responsible should be established, all information about detainees should be made public, a proper code of conduct should be instituted, and evidence from interrogation should not be admitted into court until all the proposed measures have been met.

Such safeguards may offer some protection, but there is little likelihood that abuses will stop until South Africa's prisons are opened up to the due processes of law and the practice of detaining people incommunicado is stopped.

But Section 29, the infamous statute that allows for indefinite detention without trial and without access to lawyers, family or independent doctors, is a key part of the current security legislation.

Police, faced with the task of maintaining control in the face of a massively disaffected population, are not going to part with such legal powers without a fight.

Torture allegations are therefore likely to continue.

### Trauma of Returning to Normal Life

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 4-10 Oct 85 p 12

[Article by Mary Ramsay]

[Text] 'PEOPLE who are detained and tortured suffer a whole variety of unhealthy psychological effects caused by the traumatic conditions experienced in detention.'

This is the view of the Detainees Counselling Service (DCS), a group of psychologists and psychiatrists who provide free therapy to victims of detention.

In a paper recently compiled on the psychological effects of detention, the DCS notes that people who suffer extreme pain, humiliation, degradation and fear; have their sleep, eating and exercise routines disrupted; are deprived of normal interaction with other human beings and are kept in a constant state of discomfort and deprivation are prone to develop psychological disturbances.

"It is possible that under extreme pressure," notes the DCS paper, "people may completely lose touch with reality and become psychotic."

But most experience an anxiety state known as post-traumatic stress disorder.

The most common symptom of this disorder is the remembrance of traumatic events which

happened during torture. This can occur at any time, brought on by hearing a door slamming or a shout, by standing in a queue, or by reading a headline. The memory of torture is accompanied by the fear and dread experienced during torture.

Affected people will find themselves suddenly trembling, crying and anxious.

These memories, and the fear of their return, often result in the sufferer becoming withdrawn from family and friends, unable to concentrate, inclined to be startled by unexpected events and unable to sleep — because of nightmares, a fear of nightmares, or a fear of not awakening.

The symptoms may be so severe they lead to a sense of detachment and unreality.

"Medicines often help relieve specific symptoms, like difficulty sleeping, but will not cure the condition," notes the DCS paper. Treatments with trained psychotherapists have proved the best cure. Where such treatment is not possible, sufferers — many of whom experience feelings of guilt and weakness — should be encouraged to talk to family, friends and those with similar experiences.

Affidavits of Ex-Detainees

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 4-10 Oct 85 pp 13, 14

[Text] ● *"THEY forced my legs open by beating the inside of my thighs with sjamboks and attempted repeatedly to kick me in my private parts."*

● *"They beat me with a sjambok on my back and chest and smashed my toes and head with a short wooden stick."*

● *"Four black policemen forced me to hold up a chair above the heads of the detainees while I was forced to crouch in an uncomfortable position."*

THESE are the words of former emergency detainee Mr Vusumsi George of Motherwell, Port Elizabeth.

His affidavit and others in support of last week's Supreme Court application brought by Dr Wendy Orr, a Port Elizabeth district surgeon, and 43 others persuaded Mr Justice Eksteen to grant an interim order restraining the police from assaulting detainees in Port Elizabeth prisons.

Mr George is not alone. Detainees who share St Albans prison cells with him made similar claims which in turn were endorsed by Dr Orr who told the court that detainees were systematically and brutally assaulted on a vast scale by police.

In his affidavit Mr George tells of his arrest on July 22 about 2,30am after police allegedly gained entry to his home by breaking a window.

"Two plainclothes policemen entered my bedroom where my wife and I were sleeping. My wife was nine months pregnant but the police nevertheless beat her and myself with quirts."

Mr George said that after his house was ransacked he was assaulted again by a policeman before he was taken to a police vehicle in which his brother and others were locked en route to the Algoa Park police station.

"Police dropped my brother off far from his house and beat him with sjamboks. Later they stopped a car with a couple in it and sprayed teargas through the window. This act seemed to be without justification because the policemen laughed and drove off leaving the car behind. At one stage they stopped

at a house and wantonly broke all the outside lights."

Mr George said he was taken from the police station to St Albans prison. A week later he was taken to Louis le Grange Square police headquarters in Port Elizabeth where a Special Branch policeman asked him his name. "When I gave it to him he immediately struck me across my face."

Two policemen identified as Strydom and Niewoudt questioned him about documents confiscated in the search at his house, he said.

"They made me sit on the floor with my hands handcuffed behind my back and forced my legs open by beating the insides of my thighs with sjamboks. They then attempted repeatedly to kick me in my private parts."

"They asked me if I had seen Denis Neer. I said I had and that he had a bruised face. They said that if I did not tell the truth I would end up like Denis."

"They then beat me with a sjambok on my back and chest and smashed my toes and head with a short wooden stick. They took me into another room and four black policemen forced me to do physical exercises until I was exhausted."

"Then they made me hold up a chair above the heads of other detainees while I was forced to crouch in an uncomfortable position. During this time no questions were asked."

"Then Tungata, another security policeman, came in and ordered me to stand as if I was embracing a metal filing cabinet. He began punching me in the kidneys from behind and hammering me on my shoulders with two-fisted blows."

"He beat my ears with open hands. He threw me onto the floor and asked me questions while kicking me."

"Two other policemen entered the room and assisted with the general assault which lasted about half an hour. Tungata and these two policemen then took me to the room next door and beat me with their fists and open hands until I began screaming."

"Two or three white policemen then came into the room and one of the three brought a wet towel which was placed tightly around my face and head while the towel was suffocating me. They beat



me then they removed the towel from my face and throttled me.

"After a severe beating they took me back to the room from which I had come. My shirt was in ribbons from the beating and pulling around."

Mr George said he was then returned to St Albans. Two days later he was examined by a female doctor who prescribed medication on his release. His private doctor told him he had swollen eardrums.

Mr George was arrested again on September 3 under the emergency regulations.

"I spent 14 days in St Albans prison and although I was not assaulted I lived in continual fear that I would be taken to Louis le Grange and interrogated once again."

Mr Ihron Rensburg, a Port Elizabeth pharmacist, writes of the fear, pain and humiliation he allegedly suffered at the hands of the police at Louis le Grange Square, police headquarters in Port Elizabeth. He says in an affidavit that he was arrested in terms of the emergency regulations on July 23 at 3am and taken to St Albans prisons where he occupied a cell with 30 others.

The following day, after two hours of interrogation at Louis le Grange Square, he said, a Sgt Faku told him to sing a Xhosa freedom song and do the toi-toi — a dance done to freedom songs and the chanting of political slogans. He said he refused until Sgt Faku threatened to assault him.

"Faku then questioned me about meetings I addressed in the township. Whenever I gave him an answer he didn't like, he would hit me with a clenched fist. I was hit on both sides of the face and given an uppercut which caused my top lip to start bleeding.

"At one stage he grabbed me by the collar which had the effect of choking me. He forced me up against the wall and then kicked me with his knee in my stomach. I fell to the ground. When the pain had subsided I got up and was again hit by Sgt Faku in the face.

"He then hit me with a blow directly on the nose. My nose began to bleed

profusely. There was blood on the floor, on my clothes and on the walls. Faku ordered me to clean the floor. I refused and he hit me on the side of my face.

"He threatened that if I did not clean the floor I would have a bag put over my head and be given the helicopter. I have heard from other detainees what the helicopter means. The victim is locked into a permanent crouch around a stick and then suspended from the floor and spun, making him disorientated and dizzy. I had no choice but to start cleaning the floor and walls."

After this Sgt Faku told him to sign forms he had not read. He said "I signed because I feared for my life. I was in great pain and did not want to be assaulted again."

Mr Rensburg recalls seeing trade unionist Denis Neer at the prison later that week.

"His arm was in a sling with bandages around the forearm. His face was swollen and there were abrasions and bruising on his face. He walked stiffly and slowly. He told me he had been brutally assaulted by members of the security police who had put him through the helicopter. He told me that he had been referred to hospital.

"I also remember seeing several detainees return from interrogation injured in one way or another."

Mr Rensburg said that after he had laid a complaint of assault with the sister in charge of the prison hospital and the doctor who examined him, he agreed to

sign a form indemnifying the prison department.

"Apart from being approached with the indemnity, no one approached me in prison for the purposes of investigating the charge of assault. Other detainees also laid charges of assault and they also complained that the charges were not being investigated.

"It appeared to me that the prisons department and the police were deliberately turning a blind eye to the systematic assault on detainees by members of the SA police."

8 November 1985

SOUTH AFRICA

## CONSEQUENCES OF EDUCATION CRISIS EXAMINED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 4 Oct 85 p 8

[Commentary: "Education Crisis"]

[Text]

**B**ECAUSE the situation in education is so grave, we are willing to give Dr Gerrit Viljoen constructive support in his endeavour to make education equal and free.

We would have thought that seeing as education is such an obviously soft target area, the Government would have acted expeditiously to have it resolved sooner. But this Government is so locked up in the Frankenstein monster, apartheid, that it takes years to make anything like significant change.

If the wind is taken out of the problems created by black education, we will then perhaps have a chance at looking at other problems. It is most upsetting to parents to have to be burdened with all the problems of apartheid plus the problems at school. The most moderate black parent is driven straight into the arms of the radicals if his child suffers. Quite natural too.

As things are, a number of schools have locked their gates for the year. They had no other option. Many parents are seriously considering getting their children out of school till things clear themselves. This is a tricky proposition at the best of times, but now it means breaking one of the regulations of the state of emergency by keeping your children at home.

In any case the prospect of letting a child miss a whole year of school is rather grim. They also tend to get themselves into all sorts of scrapes if they are left on their own, as they are bound to if schools close.

We are prepared to tip our hat all the way in Dr Viljoen's direction if his words are translated into fact. We are hoping that this happens because we are tired of carping. We are tired of being cynical, of being churlish.

**We believe it is as much our job, within our power, to help see things improve themselves in South Africa.**

**But there is much, much more at stake. We are not only seeing a generation of illiterates growing up, we are also turning our children into monsters. This type of thing cannot go on, for very soon nerves are going to snap and the bloodbath and other frightening scenarios that are always spoken about might just become reality.**

**Finally it is suicidal for a country that has blacks outnumbering whites so much to have them unsuited to run things. By the year 2 000, even educationists have shown that the number of blacks who will be required to man the skilled posts in the country will far outstrip the number of whites.**

**It is thus sensible to have the majority of the people fully equipped to run the country. The majority are black.**

CSO: 3400/211

SOUTH AFRICA

CAPE BID FOR NEW EDUCATION SYSTEM

Cape Town THE ARGUS in English 27 Sep 85 p 17

[Article by Gaye Davis]

[Text]

IN what could prove to be a significant demonstration of political strength and have far-reaching implications for education, communities are engaged in a grassroots movement aimed at gaining control of their schools.

At meetings in the Peninsula, on the Cape Flats and in the Boland, parents, teachers and pupils have been discussing alternatives to an education system perceived as unequal and inferior, and administered by politicians without a mandate.

The roots of this new-found unity — it was not a notable feature of the 1976 and 1980 schools boycotts — are embedded in weeks of police action against pupils engaged in peaceful protest, fertilised by the closure on September 6 of more than 450 high and primary schools and colleges by the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Carter Ebrahim.

In a furious outcry, educators and community organisations condemned the move as "arbitrary" and "autocratic". Why, they asked, had the department been silent for weeks when pupils were being sjambokked and teargassed, if its reason for closing the schools was that the children's safety could no longer be guaranteed?

Meetings were convened in the Peninsula, the Cape Flats and the Boland.

Describing Mr Ebrahim as "a minister without a mandate", parents, teachers, pupils and community organisations rejected the idea of negotiating with him to reopen the schools.

Instead, in a dramatic act of defiance, hundreds of parents, teachers and pupils tried to open their schools for themselves 10 days later — a move which saw 173 adults and children arrested after fierce confrontations with police.

When the schools were officially opened again last week, educators, parents and pupils said *they* would decide when the schools would re-open — and most schools appeared deserted while revision classes for matric pupils were held at other venues this week.

What started as an act of solidarity with boycotting pupils in the Eastern Cape and the Vaal Triangle, organised around a set of basic demands, has turned into a broad-based protest involving not only parents, teachers and pupils but also religious and community leaders and various community and political organisations.

Weeks of peaceful protest erupted into violence the day after police used sjamboks, batons and teargas to break up marchers bound for Pollsmoor Prison on August 28, the day the country's largest students' organisation, the Congress of South African Students, was banned just 24 hours before a Western Cape wing was to be launched.

A new structure — the Western Cape Students' Council — has been formed to unite pupils and students in the coloured townships as well as in Cape Town's African townships.

New teachers' bodies have been formed, uniting teachers in Paarl, Wellington and Mbekweni and in Mitchell's Plain, and a Western Cape teachers' union is about to be launched.

## Violence

Democratic organisations — parents, teachers and students' associations — have been or are in the process of being con-

stituted at a number of schools in a direct attempt to break from State schooling and introduce an alternative education system representing their own interests.

The PTSAs are designed to replace the traditional, statutory school committees and afford parents, teachers and pupils — and anyone else in the community with the interests of the school at heart — with an equal say in their administration and functioning.

They are also aimed at providing a platform from which to address broader political issues relevant to the community — issues brought under the spotlight by the eight-week long boycott of classes and widespread violence which has focused attention on schools as sites of the struggle for change.

Together, parents, teachers and pupils are challenging the assumption that the knowledge gained in school should be devoid of politics or any attempt at making them aware of what happens in the world around them.

SOUTH AFRICA

## BLACK REJECTION OF BOTHA COUNCIL INCLUSION OFFER EXPLAINED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 4 Oct 85 p 8

[Article in Focus column by Sam Mabe]

[Text]

**T**here could be many whites who do not understand why blacks are rejecting an offer by the State President, Mr P W Botha, to be included in the President's Council.

Questions, such as: "Didn't they ask to have a say in the decision-making machinery of this country?", could be asked in conversations of those who think Mr Botha's offer is the best deal that blacks could have expected.

Some could be thinking that blacks are fastidious and others, that they do not know what they want. Both are wrong.

The rejection of the President's Council when it was incepted, had nothing to do with whether or not blacks were included in it.

It was rejected, because it made it clear that any Government-created institution, from community councils, bantustan governments, management committees and the lot, were unacceptable to blacks.

Various types of campaigns have been launched in which voters and candidates were called upon to boycott the institutions and allow them to collapse.

Those who were already serving in them, were asked to resign. Some did and others refused. Some of those who refused, have paid heavily for their refusal. They have been stoned to death. And set alight.

The survivors are living in fear for their lives. Their houses are stoned. And sometimes petrol-bombed.

### **Willing**

Mr Botha said: "I am willing to consider the structuring and functions of the President's

Council to make provisions for their participation."

The UDF saw Mr Botha's stance as highly patronising. They said Mr Botha's cause did not think it was going to answer their political problems — a toothless bulldog, as Bishop Desmond Tutu described it.

Azapo and the UDF Botha showed a total contempt for the feelings and aspirations of blacks.

They asked: "How can he prescribe solutions for us without our consent or our involvement?"

PFP leader, Dr Fredrik van Zyl Slabbert, rightly said that any constitutional dispensation that is proposed unilaterally, will stand no chance of acceptance among blacks.

## **Proposals**

The President's Council will only allow blacks to make proposals to the Government. The ultimate power will still reside in the white Government.

Mr Botha said any constitution would have to take into account the multicultural nature of the population and that minorities would have to be protected.

It cannot be denied that there are many cultural and ethnic differences among the people of South Africa. These differences, though no cause of friction, have been exploited and in most cases, exaggerated in an attempt to split the black nation.

The differences were used to create the bantustans which have now deprived blacks of their South African citizenship. Because of such an experience, blacks will not tolerate a constitution that will draw any ethnic, racial or cultural differences.

Blacks believe that in a democratic South Africa, everybody who owes his loyalty to Africa, will be accepted as an African and treated as such.

## **Problems**

Mr Botha has spoken of units which will be recognised on a group basis and that each group will have autonomy on matters that affect only that unit.

By units, the Government means ethnic groups. Bantustans will still be operative and blacks will exercise their political rights there. This does not take blacks any further than they have always been.

But even if it were not for the shortfalls that are inherent in Mr Botha's constitutional dispensation, he would still face serious problems in trying to sell his deal to blacks.

Nowadays, blacks are no longer questioning what the Government does, they are questioning the Government's right to do it.

And whether rightly or wrongly, they do not consider themselves to be at the mercy of the Government to allow them to determine their future role in the politics of South Africa.

What they believe to be their right to self-determination, is what they are committed to defending, even at the cost of their own lives.

The politics of half-a-loaf is better than no bread have become a thing of the past.

Judging from what has been happening in South Africa since 1976, it would seem that the National Party Government will never satisfy the political aspirations of blacks. Not even the PFP or any other white government.

There seems to be only one mandate that Mr Botha is sure to get from Azapo, UDF, ANC and the PAC — that is to call elections at which every South African will be eligible to vote and to stand as a candidate.

CSO: 3400/211

SOUTH AFRICA

MORE DIALOG BETWEEN BOSSES, WORKERS URGED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 3 Oct 85 p 6

[Article in Focus column by Sam Mabe]

[Text]

**A**s is usually the case in situations where there is unrest, South African businessmen have suddenly awakened to the fact that there is a need for change in South Africa.

Recently, they took the bull by the horns when they went to Lusaka to speak to the ANC — an organisation branded by some as terrorist and communist — about the deteriorating political situation in this country.

They also featured in large numbers among top people who met in Johannesburg about two weeks ago to start moves towards the possible holding of a national convention.

In a full-page advertisement ran in some newspapers early this week, the businessmen signed a declaration calling for the acceleration of reform.

They state, among other things, that they reject violence as a means of achieving change and that they support the politics of negotiation. But they do not say anything about the violence used by the Government to maintain the status quo.

Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, chairman of the Azanian Congress of Trade Unions (Azactu), said utterances of white businessmen should be viewed with caution.

He said: "The migrant labour system and the influx control laws which humiliate the working class were designed to promote the interests of the capitalists. This makes businessmen part of the problem in this country and we cannot suddenly see them as being on our side."

**Reform**

The Kairos document produced by 151 theologians and ministers says it is in the interest of those who benefit from the status quo to introduce a number of reforms in order to ensure that the system is not radically changed so that they can continue to benefit from it as they have done in the past.

The document says there are those who are treated as mere labour units, paid starvation wages, separated from their families by migratory labour, moved about like cattle and dumped in homelands to starve.

True justice, God's justice, demands a radical change of structures which can only come from below, from the oppressed themselves. God does not bring his justice through reforms introduced by the Pharaohs of this world.



Experience has also proved that reforms coming from the top do not have long-term effects on the people.

The "middle-class" that was created after the 1976 unrest was meant to act as a buffer between the Government and the masses at the bottom. There were even suggestions by some experts around the early 80s that chances of another 1976 type of unrest were non-existent.

It was believed that blacks were happy with the reform introduced at the time and that they would have no reason to rise against the authorities. They were wrong.

### **Fear**

Members of the "middle-class" are today joining the masses. They have been radicalised; some to safeguard their interests and others out of fear.

Mr Nefolovhodwe said businessmen could express their concern about the situation in South Africa in the factory floor where they

are forever at loggerheads with workers.

His argument sounds sensible. The businessmen would seem to be engaging in a public relations exercise designed to give blacks the impression that they identify with their plight.

This was confirmed by the group's spokesman who told a morning English newspaper that the message in the advertisement was directed at blacks to show them how their employers and the people they buy from feel about change.

But the majority of black people, especially the grassroots level of blacks, do not read newspapers. The few who read them are not among the stonethrowers.

What many people would rather see the businessmen do is to address themselves to the people closest to them and over whom they have control — their employees.

Instead of calling on the Government to negotiate with acknow-

ledged black leaders, they should recognise trade unions and negotiate better wages and working conditions with them.

They should also accept the workers' right to strike when there is a deadlock in negotiations. They should not dismiss the workers or set the police on them.

### **Jobless**

It should be borne in mind that some of the people who engage in the violence that has characterised the unrest in the townships once had jobs which they lost through strike dismissals or retrenchment.

Others are still employed but are underpaid, denied promotion, discriminated against and denied the right to belong to unions.

They are the angry people who have an axe to grind with management. Hence the targeting of commercial vehicles and anything that is associated with white employers.

Declarations will certainly not get anywhere near satisfying them.

SOUTH AFRICA

CHURCHES' KAIROS DOCUMENT EXAMINED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 2 Oct 85 p 4

[Article in Focus column by Sam Mabe]

[Text]

THE already strained church/State relationship could plummet to an all-time low following the recent publication of Kairos — a document giving a critical analysis of the political situation in South Africa.

The document, produced by 151 theologians and ministers, could be the most radical document produced by the church in this country.

It challenges the legitimacy of the South African Government because of its apartheid policies and labels it the enemy of the people. It advocates confrontation, disobedience and the promotion of justice — by the church — even at the cost of creating “conflict, disunity and dissension” along the way.

### **Confused**

The document challenges the “confused” use of the word violence; to describe the activities of young people in the townships and not the “oppressive and naked violence” of the police and the army or what apartheid in general is doing to people.

The document asks: “How can one condemn all violence and then allow young white males to accept conscription into the armed forces. Is it because the activities of the armed forces and the police are counted as defensive? Why are the activities of young blacks in the townships not regarded as defensive?”

It says what one calls “violence” and what one calls “self-defence” seems to depend on which side one is on. It

says that throughout the Bible the word violence is used to describe everything done by a wicked oppressor.

The document interprets what Jesus meant when He spoke of turning the other cheek. He was saying people should not take revenge; not that they should not defend themselves.

The document gives a biblical definition of oppression as the experience of being crushed, degraded, humiliated, impoverished, defrauded, deceived and enslaved. Oppressors are described as cruel, ruthless, arrogant, greedy, violent and tyrannical. And as the enemy.

### **Moral**

On the legitimacy of the South African Government, the Kairos

says there is a long Christian tradition which says that once it is established beyond doubt that a particular regime is tyrannical, it forfeits the moral right to govern.

The people then acquire the right to resist and to protect their own interests against injustice and oppression.

It describes the apartheid system, which tries to rule for the exclusive interests of whites, as an irreformable regime.

It says that as the oppressed majority becomes more insistent and puts more pressure on the tyrant by means of boycotts, strikes, uprisings, burnings and even armed struggle, the more tyrannical will this regime become.

### **Killings**

It will use repressive measures such as detentions, trials, killings, torture, bannings, propaganda, states of emergency and other desperate and tyrannical methods.

The Kairos says a regime that is in principle the enemy of the people

cannot suddenly begin to rule in the interest of all the people. It will introduce reforms that will always be unacceptable to the majority because all reforms will ensure that the white minority remains in power.

It further says the conflict and the struggle will have to intensify in the months and years ahead because "there is no other way" to remove the injustice and oppression.

- The Kairos calls on Christians to participate in the struggle for liberation and appeals to the church to support and encourage the campaigns of the people such as consumer boycotts and stayaways.

### **Crisis**

The present crisis challenges the church to move beyond a mere "ambulance ministry" to a ministry of involvement and participation. It says a church that takes its responsibilities seriously will sometimes have to confront and disobey the State in order to obey God.

The reconciliation of blacks and whites that is presently being advocated by the church has also come under fierce attack from the Kairos. It says reconciliation can only be applied between two groups whose differences are based on misunderstandings.

But not in the South African situation where there is a conflict between an armed and violent oppressor group and a defenceless and oppressed group.

It says such conflicts can only be described as the struggle between justice and injustice, good and evil, God and the devil.

The Kairos further comments: "To speak of reconciling these two is not only a mistaken application of the Christian idea of reconciliation, it is a total betrayal of all that Christian faith has ever meant.

"Nowhere in the Bible or in Christian tradition has it ever been suggested that we ought to reconcile good and evil, God and the devil. We have to do away

with evil, injustice, oppression and sin — not to come to terms with it.

"We are supposed to oppose, confront and reject the devil and not try to sup with the devil. In our situation in South Africa it would be totally unchristian to plead for reconciliation and peace before the present injustices have been removed," the Kairos says.

It goes on to say that to be truly biblical, church leaders must adopt a theology that millions of Christians have already adopted — a biblical theology of direct confrontation with the forces of evil rather than a theology of reconciliation with sin and the devil.

It says the moment of truth has arrived for the church to be shown for what it really is. It calls on the church to take its rightful place in the South African situation — to side with the oppressed, as did God who did not try to reconcile Moses and Pharaoh, or to reconcile the Hebrew slaves with their Egyptian oppressors.

SOUTH AFRICA

# SOWETAN TEACHERS FEEL CAUGHT BETWEEN POLICE, PUPILS

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 4-10 Oct 85 p 11

[Article by Sefako Nyaka]

[Text] Since the start of the school boycotts more than a year ago, teaching - and life - have become one big headache for teachers at black schools.

"Teaching in black schools is dangerous," says one teacher, who insists on anonymity. Teachers have found themselves trapped in "the parent, pupil and police triangle".

If pupils doubt his "loyalty" to their cause, then he risks his house being petrol-bombed. Worse still, he might end up the victim of a "necklace" (a tyre doused in petrol, placed around the victim's neck and set alight).

On September 3 the homes of two teachers at Madibane High School in Diepkloof were attacked. Some teachers are worried that those two were the first victims of a "hit-list".

And if the police think the teacher is on the side of his charges, then he risks detention. At times when police have taken action against pupils, teachers were caught in the cross-fire.

In early September a white teacher and 10 pupils were hurt when police fired birdshot at Musi High in Pinville, Soweto.

On the other hand, parents expect teachers to continue teaching despite the chaotic situation in the township.

For example, this teacher knows of a parent who said to a neighbour of his: "He (the teacher) has finished his studies. Now he incites our children to boycott classes."

As if that is not enough, circuit inspectors leave teachers and principals to convey to pupils and parents the decisions "they (school authorities) take from the safety of their carpeted offices in Booysens (the regional offices of the Department of Education and Training Offices)," the teacher says.

And when they, as teachers, transmit the message to the pupils and their parents they usually bear the brunt of the community anger.

The teacher says the grievances of the pupils are genuine, and if the Department of Education and Training had responded to them initially, then the situation would long ago have returned to normal.

At times, when pupils get shot teachers blame themselves, saying "we could have done something" to avoid the unnecessary death.

Some teachers have instructed pupils not to wear uniforms in order to avoid victimisation from boycotting students. On the other hand, the students are usually picked up by the police when they are found out of uniform.

After 1976, hundreds of teachers resigned because of pressure from the pupils or because they could not work within the confines of the Bantu Education system.

But the situation is different now. With the recession biting deeper, there are not alternative jobs for teachers.

Some are staying on with the hope that the situation will soon get back to normal. But they have been living with that optimism for over a year now.

Another teacher says that what worries him most is not that his teaching is going to waste but, as he put it, the children's education has been rudely disrupted because someone in authority thinks that by demanding a democratic SRC the students are being "used by the communists".

This teacher, who also asked not to be named, has a young child and a 26-year-old wife.

"Every morning when I set off to school I look at them, always reminding myself that I might be seeing them for the last time.

"Who knows. I might be locked up in Sun City (Johannesburg Prison) or my life might be ended on the dusty streets by a stray bullet," he says.

What did he do during the holidays? "Well, I used to sleep until 8 because I knew that I was not going to work. But now I wake up early not knowing whether I will be standing in front of an empty classroom."

But worse still, every morning these teachers first have a report from township people on the situation in the areas in which they teach or have to pass through when they go to school.

Otherwise they might be caught in the middle of a confrontation between students and the police - far from home or school.

/13104  
CSO: 3400/253

SOUTH AFRICA

# BUTHELEZI WARNS 'FIFTH COLUMN' TEACHERS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 18 Oct 85 p 15

[Text]

NTUZUMA. — The KwaZulu Chief Minister and president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday warned "Fifth Column teachers" and others instigating unrest that "we will not stand by and see our schools and colleges being used for Black on Black strife".

"... Leave our schools alone. We are waging a struggle for liberation and are defying apartheid through them. We are preparing a whole new generation in them..." he said at the opening of the Ntuzuma College of Education for teachers.

However, he said, with the present violence and unrest in Black schools, the Government was in many respects reaping the whirlwind of the "horrors of Verwoerdian Black education".

When he was Prime Minister, Dr Hendrik

Verwoerd had used the inferior "Bantu education" system to prepare young Black people for second and third class citizenship.

Chief Buthelezi said he was angry, together with teachers, pupils and parents about the way the Government had "politicised" Black education and had used it as a "tool of apartheid".

But it was imperative that this anger was "wielded as a weapon for justice" in the sure knowledge that "we ourselves" would now "set things right".

He said: "We will do this at the national level, where we strive to eradicate apartheid, and at the regional level, where we gather the Black strength of South Africa to help ourselves and avoid being made beggars in the country of our birth." — Sapa.

CSO: 3400/210

SOUTH AFRICA

HSRC NOTES INCREASE IN OPPOSITION TO MARRIAGE LAWS

MB211742 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1708 GMT 21 Oct 85

[Text] Pretoria, 21 October, SAPA--Three Human Science Research Council [HSRC] surveys of adult whites in South Africa over the 18 months to June this year found a clear increase in support for the repeal of the laws prohibiting marriage and sex across the colour line.

Two of the surveys, in March 1984 and March 1985 were conducted before the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and section 16 of the Immorality Act were abolished in parliament earlier this year, and the third in June, HSRC researchers said in Pretoria today when the findings of their surveys were released.

The decline in support for the two measures between the March 1984 and June 1985 surveys was "particularly noticeable in respect of Afrikaans speakers, with the decrease in support being relatively sharp in both cases."

In the case of the Immorality Act, the percentage of Afrikaans-speaking respondents who opposed the measure increased almost threefold (from 13.4 percent in March 1984 to 36.2 percent in June 1985).

During the same period opposition to the Mixed Marriages Act increased from 16.6 percent to 37.2 percent.

The researchers said it was clear from all three surveys that English-speakers were significantly less inclined than Afrikaans speakers to support the two measures concerned, and conversely significantly more inclined to oppose them.

In June this year, relatively more Afrikaans-speaking respondents supported than opposed the two measures (51.5 percent as opposed to 37.2 percent respectively in the case of the Mixed Marriages Act, and 50.2 percent as opposed to 36.2 percent for the Immorality Act).

In contrast to this, relatively few English-speaking respondents supported than opposed the two measures (25.1 percent as opposed to 59.5 percent respectively in the case of the Mixed Marriages Act, and 22.7 percent as opposed to 59.3 percent for the Immorality Act).

SOUTH AFRICA

MILLER INTERVIEWED ON STUDENT PASSPORT ISSUE

MB180905 Johannesburg Television Service in English 1800 GMT 17 Oct 85

[Interview with Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Ron Miller in Pretoria by Pat Rogers in Johannesburg on the "Network" program--live]

[Text] [Rogers] The rumpus caused by the intended visit to the ANC youth wing in Zambia by eight University of Stellenbosch students has been effectively capped by the withdrawal of their passports. This happened after both the university's rector, Prof Mike de Vries, and State President P.W. Botha expressed their disapproval of the proposed meeting. Joining us now from Pretoria to discuss the matter is deputy minister of foreign affairs, Mr Ron Miller. Mr Miller, could I ask you first and just briefly whether you accept the motivations, the good intentions, of the students, leaving aside from the moment the arguments that follow from there?

[Miller] Undoubtedly, they were sincere, but I think misplaced, intentions.

[Rogers] Now, if in fact they see it as a step towards solving differences by discussion instead of by force, could they not argue that if they are old enough to carry arms for their country, they are old enough to take that kind of peace initiative?

[Miller] Yes, I do not think the question revolves about the capability so much of the students here, as it does the security interests of South Africa. We are essentially at war with the ANC. They are at war with South Africa, and we have to defend ourselves. And, as the president has said on many occasions, negotiation with the ANC will not solve the problem until the ANC itself decides to abandon violence as a means for bringing about change. That is really what the problem revolves around here. Not so much what the students wanted to discuss with ANC, but the fact that it is not in South Africa's strategic interests to have these negotiations at present.

[Rogers] Mr Miller, is it not a very heavy, authoritarian action to take, to withdraw or refuse passports to law-abiding citizens of the country?

[Miller] Well, when it comes to the security interests of South Africa, and in particular the violent actions which the ANC are executing in South Africa, then I believe one has to act fairly drastically. But I would like to point



out that initially the state president warned the private sector not to go ahead with its visit to Lusaka to discuss matters with the ANC, for very cogent reasons, which the president gave. But unfortunately, the business sector decided to ignore that request from the state president. We asked them to voluntarily, to decide voluntarily, not to go to Lusaka, and they chose to ignore that. Now, you know, one can only ask so many times, and then eventually the state had to act in the interests of all its citizens, and that has happened now because it is apparent that people are not voluntarily prepared to listen to the advice which we give them.

[Rogers] I would like to come back to that, but first of all, if we could look at the timing of this action. We have refused the appeals for clemency for Moloise, who is going to hang. There have been more fatal shootings by the security forces in Cape Town, and now this action, all at a time when the Commonwealth government leaders are meeting in the Bahamas to discuss, among other things, sanctions against South Africa. I think there [is] a lot of people out there thinking, you know: They have done it again.

[Miller] Yes. You know, the timing of actions such as these which, I must admit--and the government will always admit--are drastic actions, are dictated by events and the potential threat to South African security. And that is of paramount importance. Not the political repercussions as such, although these are taken into very serious consideration when one makes these extremely difficult and delicate decisions. But in the end, the overriding considerations here are the consequences of not making the decisions. And we have decided that, in the case of these students and the contact with the ANC, that at this very moment it is not in the interests of South Africa for those negotiations or discussions to go ahead.

[Rogers] Now, if we could look for a moment at the consequences of taking the decision. Have you not dealt now an ace to Sir Sonny Ramphal and the Commonwealth leaders who are going to push for sanctions against South Africa? Do you accept that that is the price we have to pay?

[Miller] Well, you know, the people who are going to take umbrage at this decision are really the people [who] are supportive of the ANC's strategy for using violence against South Africa in an attempt to bring about a political change here. I think the people who are well informed and understand the position in South Africa, and understand our position, will in fact not take umbrage at this statement. A number of countries will find themselves in an embarrassing position because of the pressure which will be exerted on them by other countries who do not have the same understanding. But I am confident that these people who have South Africa's interests at heart will understand the position, and will hold their ground against political pressure.

[Rogers] Now, I do not know how well informed you think the leader of the opposition is, but he has today described the action as staggeringly stupid. Could you comment?

[Miller] Well, you see, the leader of the opposition himself has been up to talk to the ANC for whatever reason he wanted to talk to them. I may just

point out that the leader of the opposition finds himself in a particular position. He has parliamentary privilege, that is why we were prepared to allow him to go out and talk to the ANC. But that does not pertain to the students from Stellenbosch University.

[Rogers] No, we will get back now to the point you made earlier that the Progressive Federal Party [PFP] have had a delegation go up there, businessmen have had its delegation go up there, now why OK for them, not OK for the students?

[Miller] Well in the case of the business community the state president appealed to them to voluntarily decide not to go and visit the ANC for the very sound reason which the state president gave, namely, that it is not in South Africa's strategic interest for these dialogues and contacts to go on at the moment, and not until the ANC, in fact, foreswore violence. There is also a security risk to South Africa with information being given to the ANC which perhaps they should not have. Unintentionally given to them but nevertheless there is a risk for South Africa.

[Rogers] But why were the businessmen allowed to go? Is this because they are a more affluent, more influential lobby?

[Miller] No, we had hoped that they would decide voluntarily not to go. They then decided to go and in the light of that the state has now taken a very firm stand on future applications for passports to go and talk to the ANC.

[Rogers] And has that, minister, has that been triggered at all by the fact that the students represent in a sense Afrikanerdom and the government might be more sensitive about such an approach coming from them?

[Miller] No, I don't think that is the overriding consideration. It may be one possibility, but it is certainly not the major reason. The major reason as given in the statement by the minister for home affairs is that this sort of contact is a threat to our national security and that is why the government decided not to give it to them.

[Rogers] And do you see this now as a precedent, there would be no more sitting down and talking to the ANC by any other delegations, bodies, organizations?

[Miller] I think on probability that is correct, yes.

[Rogers] Now is that wise if one considers that Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, for instance, has come back from such a meeting saying that he believes on the basis of the meeting that there appears to be some room for maneuver, some basis for discussions between the ANC and government?

[Miller] Undoubtedly that is so. I think there is a lot of room for discussion with the ANC, but we cannot engage in that discussion with them until they stand aside from violence as long as their strategy is to overthrow South Africa by violent means, then the room that is there is for discussions, the areas of negotiation which are there, are not relevant or valid.

[Rogers] Minister, one accepts the reservations you make but if one looks at the practical reality in South Africa today, many of the black townships are aflame and the situation there is being controlled, if not directly by the ANC, but their surrogates in [word indistinct]. Now can you ignore their reality in any kind of discussion toward settling the situation in South Africa?

[Miller] Yes I think one has to look at what the ANC is trying to achieve. You know the more successful we are in our reform program in South Africa, the less relevant the ANC and the United Democratic Front [UDF] will become. And it is precisely because we are making a stride and we are gaining ground in the reform process that the ANC and the UDF decided to start urban unrest. Of course, they had willing participants by way of those people who are unemployed, who are angry at the system because of a lack of employment, and they then got these people through intimidation to participate in township violence. The truth is that the ANC wants to take over South Africa. [Word indistinct] want to share power in South Africa the way we do, and the more successful we are, the more the ANC is going to try to disrupt matters using violence. Now that is the very core of our objection to the ANC. They are not interested in a peaceful solution here in which all people share in political decisionmaking.

[Rogers] Now you have said, the government has said, that it is prepared [to] talk to African leaders but they have not in fact come forward, and in spite of some suggestions that the ANC represents only 10 percent of the black people, others say those have shown that the percentage is in fact must greater than that, can you really avoid, in the end, having to talk to them and isn't it better to start, perhaps, with these unofficial bodies like business and students and so on opening the way for you?

[Miller] Well, let me comment on the first part first and that is the fact that there is intimidation and violence at the moment undertaken by the UDF and the ANC against leaders who are prepared to work within the system or talk to the government is causing a problem, is not a fatal impediment but it is a serious practical problem at the moment and we hope that the minute that peace and security are reestablished in the urban areas of South Africa's black urban areas that leaders, legitimate leaders, who will come forward again. [sentence as received] Second, you know the problem is with the ANC. They don't want to talk about the same solutions which we do. They want to talk about capitulation by the whites. Mr Gavin Relly and his group who went to see the ANC in Lusaka will be able to confirm that and I am certain if you talk to Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, the leader of the opposition in the assembly, he will confirm that the ANC's intent is not to share power but to take over power in South Africa.

[Rogers] Mr Ron Miller, thank you for joining us on Network.

[Miller] Thank you. [end video]

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CSO: 3400/223

SOUTH AFRICA

# HSRC BLAMES RACE CLASSIFICATION FOR ILL-WILL

MB140602 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2204 GMT 13 Oct 85

[Text] Pretoria, 13 October, SPAP--The system of race classification as implemented in the Population Registration Act of 1950 was probably the root cause of ill feeling between South Africa's different groups and it would have to go, a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) working committee has found.

The committee's report, with which the chairman, Prof Marinus Weichers of UNISA [University of South Africa], did not fully agree, was released in Pretoria today (Monday) but completed in February this year and submitted to the HSRC's main committee investigating intergroup relations in South Africa.

The main committee subsequently released its report, in which it generally criticised the system of apartheid, in July this year.

In its report, entitled "Political Cooperation Within a Fundamental Rule of Law," the working committees prime recommendation was that a fundamental rule of law be created and further developed to ensure the protection of group as well as individual rights.

The apparent contention among governing politicians that only either group rights or individual rights could be maintained at the expense of the other was dismissed by the committee with the assertion the two concepts were in fact complementary, with group rights depending on individual rights and vice versa.

The first step should be accompanied by a declaration of intent by the government binding itself to the creation of such a rule of law, as well as the announcement of a legislative programme for the elimination of existing laws and statutory prescriptions which currently threatened the creation of the envisaged fundamental rule of law.

The second main recommendation of the committee was that a "fully participant democracy" in the form of a real consociational central government for South Africa should be created.

In its third recommendation, it said it was logical that all subordinate forms of government should be established with the same principles in mind.

Fourthly, the four independent national states should be developed as full partners in the Southern African Community of States, and the national states as autonomous regional governments in a decentralised system.

The public service sector, as the vehicle for implementing the participant democracy should, fifthly, be fully integrated.

The committee realised its reform guidelines were impossible to implement overnight and recommended three phases for the process, although these would overlap.

The first phase would be the declaration of intent, with all its implications.

The second would be one of reorganisation, with an active transfer to acceptable citizenship arrangements, the establishment of regional governments as well as cooperation structures and institutions across national borders, and the institution of consociational governments at local level.

The third phase would be a constituting one, where a consociational or co-operational government at central level would be brought about for members of all population groups through the process of consensus.

The committee found the implementation of the present system of statutory population registration had had four "extremely negative" effects on group relations in South Africa.

Firstly, because ethnicity was proven to be indeterminable and juridically untenable, population registration had effectively become race classification, with colour and origin as the almost exclusive criteria.

Secondly, population registration had come under serious suspicion when the system, as far as blacks were concerned, had been coupled to citizenship for the so-called homelands to the extent that some had statutorily been declared aliens in their own fatherland.

Thirdly, the system had given rise to a number of racial laws--all with a greater or lesser degree of negative influence on group relations.

These laws worsened relations between the blacks and other groups, particularly the whites.

Fourthly, the system had made it possible to determine the white racial group--according to origin and appearance, but not ethnically--and to promote this group as holders of supreme constitutional power.

"The clearly apparent link between population registration and the establishment and maintenance of white supreme authority is surely the deepest reason why ethnicity and official protection of group identity in South Africa is treated so suspiciously, has become unacceptable, and why the new constitution--which is based on the population registration system--has aroused so much resistance among other population groups," the committee said.

It concluded that the legitimacy of the present constitution and the political system underpinning it was questioned and opposed to such a degree by the majority of the general population that there was no possibility, in the long term, of sound intergroup relations unless the complete system was reconsidered and reformed at as fast a tempo as possible.

Whites would have to accept the necessity of eventually equal political participation by all other population groups.

It was necessary--if a consociational democracy was to be established in South Africa--for the present system of racial classification to be "fundamentally reviewed and adapted."

Instead of a system where appearance and origin were the determining factor, the committee proposed a system where the emphasis would be on freedom of association and acceptance.

In a separate comment, Professor Weichers said that while he agreed with many of the committee's views and findings, he disagreed with, particularly, the core ideas contained in the recommendations.

He referred to the "change of thinking" by the government, as evidenced so far by the extension of voting rights and political participation to "people of colour," and the recognition of the constitutional needs of blacks who lived permanently outside the independent and self-governing national states.

These were all positive steps on the road to "positive ethnicity" or a neutral handling of the phenomena of group differentiation.

Professor Weichers was of the opinion the retention of Population Registration Act--in spite of his agreement with criticism of it--was, for the present, unavoidable.

The current perception of "numerous" South Africans of ethnicity was a negative one and if the act were to be scrapped before the majority approached and experienced ethnicity positively, a large scale "ganging up" would take place against particularly the whites.

The situation would become politically untenable and unacceptable, and order and stability would be threatened.

He was sceptical of the proposed consociational model, saying there were no existing models that could be applied to the South African situation, and that the issue was in fact the creation of a unique structure to comply equally with the reasonable demand from both whites for security and "black expectations."

Professor Weichers said he doubted if the committees report made a realistic contribution to solving the problem of group relations in South Africa.

In his opinion there was too much theorising and too little "political engineering," which ran the risk of increasing confusion together with increased tension among the various groups.

SOUTH AFRICA

KANGWANE CHIEF MINISTER INTERVIEWED

MB141057 Johannesburg Television Service in English 1800 GMT 13 Oct 85

[Interview with Enos Mabuza, chief minister of Kangwane, in Johannesburg by Nigel Murphy on the "Network" program--live]

[Text] Good evening. With us in the studio tonight, the honorable chief minister of Kangwane, Mr Enos Mabuza, in an interview with Nigel Murphy. Enos John Mabuza, former educationalist, was born in the Transvaal town of Barberton 45 years ago. He became a member of the Legislative Assembly of Kangwane in 1976 and chief minister a year later. Kangwane, the so-called Swazi homeland, is the newest of the emerging self-governing states in the country. It received self-governing status almost a year ago.

Kangwane became hot news in 1982 when the government announced that the then South African territories Kangwane and Ingwavuma, where thousands of mixed Zulu-Swazi descendants live, will be incorporated into Swaziland. In the midst of considerable criticism, especially from the Kwanzulu and Kangwane Governments, the South African Government dissolved the Legislative Assembly of Kangwane on 18 June 1982. In November of that year, after a settlement out of court, the South African Government declared Kangwane's Executive Council and Legislative Assembly will be reinstated.

Thus the sword of uncertainty which hung over the homeland for years has taken its toll. Of the self-governing states, Kangwane is the least developed constitutionally, and at present is unable to support its population. Thus Chief Minister Mabuza is preparing for the battle to put the homeland on the economic map. With the help of private entrepreneurs, the Development Bank, and the Kangwane Economic Development Corporation, the uphill struggle to beat serious economic problems is now on its way.

Situated on the doorstep of a thriving [word indistinct] farming area, Kangwane aims to become an integral part of the Eastern Transvaal economy. For Chief Minister Mabuza, the fight for the upliftment of the Swazi people has only just begun.

[Murphy] Chief Minister, in an ideal situation if you could wave such a magic wand in South Africa today, would you like one-man, one-vote now?

[Mabuza] Definitely, yes.

[Murphy] Do you see that as being attainable in the near future? Is that what you are pegging your basic hopes to?

[Mabuza] Well, actually the ball is in the court of the government of the day. If they move fast enough, we can in the very near future have a one-man, one-vote situation in the country. But if they drag their legs then it will take a long time and it will also take its toll.

[Murphy] Right. Now you regard yourself, I presume, as one of the moderate leaders in this country. Would I be correct in assuming that?

[Mabuza] Well, the word moderate is relative. I regard myself as a leader, in my own right, but whether I am moderate or not that can be judged by the people who support me, my constituency.

[Murphy] Well, let me push you a little more firmly on that one. Who would you regard as the moderate black leaders in the country today and who the radicals?

[Mabuza] There are different perceptions with regard to radical leadership and moderate leadership.

[Murphy] What is your perception?

[Mabuza] The perceptions are the black perception and the white perception and within the black community those who are regarded as radical by the whites are actually regarded as moderates because the radicals are those who believe that only violence can bring about change in this country and those who probably are in our mould or in a homeland situation are dismissed as people who are not even moderate but who shouldn't even feature in the situation of black leadership in the country.

[Murphy] In a sense, I suggest you have ducked my question but let me put it to you another way. How do you differentiate between genuine black leaders and those who are not elected?

[Mabuza] Elected by who? In South Africa, we have government-created structures for the black people and the black people never voted for the creation of these structures. So in the real sense we cannot say black leaders who are working within government-created structures are elected leaders. Elected leaders would only come to the forefront if South Africa was a democratic country.

[Murphy] How would you regard, then, for example Bishop Tutu today who certainly has a very substantial following but by no stretch of the imagination could you describe him as an elected leader?

[Mabuza] Bishop Tutu is a cleric I think by profession but he is also concerned about the socioeconomic and political issues which affect the black people and he has a lot of support in the country.



[Murphy] Does he have yours?

[Mabuza] He does have my support, yes.

[Murphy] You see I am wondering, in terms of should we say a white perception of a moderate leader, I am wondering whether this isn't almost self-defeating. The Cape, which I am more familiar with, a rather sad situation has emerged there among the so-called colored community, who perhaps I am more familiar with, and that is the parents generation will tell you that they no longer hold sway over their children. Their children have said: look you have had umpteen years to try and to things your way; now we are going ahead and we are going to try and do it our way. I am wondering whether the same could not be said, perhaps, of blacks and, therefore, moderates are almost dismissed by the younger generation of which there is nearly half of the total black population.

[Mabuza] Yes, I think the question revolves around the achievement of the so-called black leaders or moderate black leaders. Moderate black leaders have been calling for change for quite a long time in this country, and there hasn't been any change. I am not in a position, for example, to quote one example of fundamental change that has been brought about as a result of negotiation by black leaders or moderate black leaders. So the young people say: You have negotiated for a long time, and what has your negotiation brought forward, what advantage has it brought? Really it is nothing. For the young people, the youth, feel that they should resort to more radical action to send the message loud and clear to the government so that change can be brought about.

[Murphy] In other words, they have pulled the rug out from people such as yourself who are potentially moderate in your views.

[Mabuza] Absolutely, they have done that. In fact, it is the circumstances in which they find themselves which has made them pull out the rug from under our feet.

[Murphy] Would you regard yourself as a truly elected representative of your people?

[Mabuza] Well, I regard myself as having a constituency, but I must concede that the homelands, by the very nature of their structure, compromise black leadership, black leadership which is involved in the homelands structure. But in the sense of having said that, I also regard myself as a leader with a constituency who can, within that particular situation, help to bring about change and help to bring about improvement of the people in that particular area. In other words, I believe that one should not wait for liberation before improving the lot of the people where they are. One shouldn't wait for actual change before one starts working for real and meaningful change in the country.

[Murphy] But either you do feel that you truly represent your people or what would be your reaction to accusations of being just a puppet leader?

[Mabuza] Well, certainly, I don't regard myself as a puppet leader because of the good I have delivered. In a homeland situation, for example, one either

leads the homeland's policy to its logical conclusion, and that logical conclusion is a situation whereby there will be no black citizenship, citizens, in the country, or one (?helps) the system where it is and tries to relax the status quo so that a situation where equal rights, justice, can be achieved.

[Murphy] But how can you claim to be a leader of any type or description in a democratic sense when there are no official political parties in Kangwane and therefore no elections?

[Mabuza] In Kangwane, we have just been granted self-governing status last year, and we are working on a constitution where people will be in a position to elect their leaders. So it is not a question of denying the democratic processes within the territory. It is a question of having been delayed by the South African Government to attain self-governing status whereby we could have a constitution and popularly elected leaders. But there are parties in Kangwane. For example, I am the leader of the Inyandza National Movement, which has very strong support within the territory, and there is a clique called the Inyatsi Yema Swati, which is in favor of incorporation. They also have followers.

[Murphy] What role today in that case do chiefs and tribes still play in black communities? Is it as strong as ever it was?

[Mabuza] The chieftainship has been accentuated or over-accentuated by the homelands policy, and I see a change coming as far as the authority of the chiefs in the sense that even the rural areas where there are tribal systems, the people are becoming more and more urbanized and more and more conscious of the fact that they have to exercise democratic rights. In other words, the chief who will survive in the future is the chief who is very sensitive to the needs and aspirations of the people. And the chief who believes that his tribe should just pay homage to him, they very soon become irrelevant.

[Murphy] Which leads me into my next question because I think you might agree that historically, South Africa's black ethnic groups and tribes have not exactly been peace-loving people in the past and not exactly noted for their capacity to negotiate and compromise.

[Mabuza] I think that again that is a white perception. The black tribes in South Africa have been overaccentuated by the present government.

[Murphy] Oh I am thinking long before this. I am going back, you know, perhaps hundreds of years here. You see what I am driving at is do you think it is theoretically possible to compromise, to negotiate, and to stick to agreements in today's atmosphere.

[Mabuza] Yes, I think we are discussing today's situation, not a situation of the 18th or 17th century, and the blacks of today in South Africa are not in the 18th century. Their aspirations are tied up in the situation as it is today in the country and throughout the world, and the blacks are in a position to negotiate, compromise, and take part in a democratic system. I would like, perhaps, to emphasize that the Swazis are more akin to the Xhosas than the

Afrikaners are to the Jews, but this is very convenient to the government not to have a Jewish tribe or an Afrikaner tribe but to have a Tswana tribe and a Shangaan tribe because by having a Shangaan and a Tswana tribe, the black can be conveniently separated and therefore easily governed.

[Murphy] With respect sir, you see I hear exactly the same sort of argument being put forward in Rhodesia before it collapsed there, and yet what we are witnessing to the north now, and I think this worries a great many people, is that there is a heavy swing and emphasis toward the one-party state ruled with absolute power. This must be a perception and a fear I think of many people in this country.

[Mabuza] Well, South Africa is not Rhodesia or Zimbabwe. South Africa is South Africa, and one also should be aware of the divide-and-rule policy of the British colonial government which was exercised in other parts of Africa, which has been exercised in this country, and is being perpetuated by the government of the day. You cannot divide people artificially for a long time and bring about a fear syndrome, whereby the Zulus will be afraid of the Tswanas, and thereafter expect harmony between these tribes in the future. It is an artificial, overaccentuated situation that is the tribal animosity or tribal rivalry.

[Murphy] A few minutes ago you said virtually nothing had happened in terms of meaningful concessions to blacks in this country, and yet Mr Gavin Relly of Anglo-American, in Australia just last week, seems to take issue with that. He asserted that very considerable and meaningful concessions had already been made by the National Party, and yet it seems that strife and unrest proceeds apace.

[Mabuza] Yes, I think the problem is the question of the difference rather between fundamental change and concessions. It is as a school of thought among some whites in the white electorate that they may not vote for the government because the more concessions the government gives to the blacks, the more the blacks want, and the more unrest they create.

[Murphy] Isn't that the case at the moment?

[Mabuza] That is a very wrong conception because what the blacks want is the recognition of their human dignity, and the whites haven't recognized that, and what the blacks want is fundamental change, and not just concessions.

[Murphy] But is it not possible that you could find a white backlash that so many perceived changes are taking place and being announced and intentions, but as the black unrest increases, the more concessions are made. Suddenly the white electorate may say: look enough is enough. Could this not be self-defeating, this unrest, in the face of ever more concessions?

[Mabuza] Yes, that is correct. That is the unfortunate situation in South Africa, the compartmentalizing of people into groups.

For example, the government is apparently afraid of 10 of 12 percent of 23 percent, that is the Conservatives Party and Herstigte National Party. It will only

be the right wing which will create a situation of a backlash against the government. But government forgets about 77 percent of the population, the blacks, who want change, who want peaceful change, who do not want bloodshed. And is the government going to appease 12 percent of 23 percent, or recognize the legitimate aspirations of 77 percent of the South African population? That is the crux of the matter.

[Murphy] You might also say that from a white viewpoint, the crux of the matter is the government has announced many intentions. It has also invited black leaders to come forward for informal negotiations. There has been apparently a thundering silence. Why don't moderates like yourself come forward, offer yourself, indeed, for discussions?

[Mabuza] Well, the announcements have been made from the podiums of the union buildings and the Tricameral Parliament

[Murphy] Does it matter where the announcements are made, provided there is an intention there?

[Mabuza] Yes, it does matter when they are made unilaterally. I believe that they should be made together with the authentic leaders of the people, together ... [Murphy interrupts]

[Murphy] Chief Minister, with respect, with respect, the National Party is the de facto power in control here today. It is offering to have meaningful discussions with many, many black leaders, yet nobody is forthcoming.

[Mabuza] From a prescriptive point of view, it is unacceptable to the blacks. Blacks will only argue... [Murphy interrupts]

[Murphy] Do you regard this as prescriptive rather than an invitation?

[Mabuza] Certainly I regard it as prescriptive because it is unilaterally made. As long as we have discriminatory laws which discriminate against blacks on the basis of their color and as long as we have a government which we haven't elected to make announcements, then so long will the blacks regard it as a positive, announcements are made as being unilateral. [sentence as heard] I think the government... [Murphy interrupts]

[Murphy] So you are saying absolutely no talks until all the brakes are released, apartheid is totally dismantled, one-man, one-vote, everything is as you would like to see it and only then would you be prepared to talk.

[Mabuza] I believe that the government should dismantle apartheid laws in the country.

[Murphy] Yes but are you saying that only when the position arises will you then be prepared to talk?

[Mabuza] I think only when that position arises will credible leaders come forward to speak to the government.

[Murphy] Even on an informal basis you still do not feel that "jaw, jaw" is better than "war, war"?

[Mabuza] On an informal basis, I think it is the duty of John citizen, black or white, to talk informally but on a formal basis... [Murphy interrupts]

[Murphy] In that case why aren't you doing so?

[Mabuza] Well, I advocate dialogue at grassroots level between all the population groups of the country, but the basis of that dialogue is the recognition of the human dignity of the black man. But as long as one population group regards the other population group on a basis of them and us, then there can be no meaningful dialogue. The state president can shout aloud wherever he is or whatever his good intentions may be, but if at grassroots level, there is still a latent (?bustup) relationship then there will be that animosity. There will always be that mistrust and as far as communication dialogue is concerned.

[Murphy] But you obviously are a believer in dialogue in spite of what you have just said. That being the case and the fact that we must have trust in our joint future together, what do you see as being your role in a future South Africa?

[Mabuza] Well, I see my role as promoting dialogue if it is viable for as long as I can make success or inch my way forward in the promotion of dialogue in bringing about peaceful change. But I must say that each day I do that, I despair because there hasn't been a positive response from the authorities.

[Murphy] Chief minister, I hope despair is not the keynote of this discussion. The very fact that we have got together, the fact we are opening each other's mind, I regard as positive, and I hope you would feel the same way. Thank you very much indeed for joining us this evening.

[Mabuza] Thank you.

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CSO: 3400/223

SOUTH AFRICA

NONPOLITICAL GROUPS LEADERS INTERVIEWED

BM181413 Johannesburg Television Service in English 1800 GMT 17 Oct 85

[Interview with James Baigrie, chairman of "Let South Africa Speak" in Cape Town; Irma Xenopoulos, deputy cochairman of "Women for Peace"; and Cindy Leontsinin, chairman of "Victims against Terrorism," in Johannesburg by Donna Doig on the "Network" program--live, with lead-in video]

[Text] [Begin lead-in video] More and more South Africans are becoming aware of the real nature of South Africa's problems and are determined to seek practical solutions which will help to bridge the gap between the races. Various peace movements have arisen which believe that the ordinary citizen can play a role in defusing hostility and ending violence in South Africa. Their manifesto is: We want to know each other, to meet each other, to work with each other, to respect each other, to protect each other. These movements are non-political, cover a wide spectrum of public opinion, and are rapidly attracting support. [end video]

[Announcer] We have with us tonight representatives of three South African peace movements.

[Doig] Joining us from Cape Town, in fact, is the chairman of "Let South Africa Speak," James Baigrie and in the studio deputy cochairman of "Women for Peace," Irma Xenopoulos, and chairman of "Victims Against Terrorism," Cindy Leontsinis. We seem to have found here a manner of white revolution-cum-evolution among people who are dissatisfied and with what is happening at government level. Whether we choose to call it nonpolitical or not--the formation of these pressure groups--I would like your opinion on that, Irma.

[Xenopoulos] I think that one should look at in the vague way that communication at this time is regarded as very important. People should be seen to be talking to each other and besides talking there should be listening, and if you do not talk to people you cannot listen. It is a fact the 50 percent of communication is listening. So I would be prepared to say that one should talk to whomever is prepared to talk to you, and one should listen.

[Doig] Or do you, nevertheless, separate this from a political exercise?

[Xenopoulos] Yes. I think that this need not necessarily be political. It is the sharing of views. You can learn through sharing views. You can find yourself understanding other people's viewpoints. Furthermore, you could

persuade people to change their viewpoints by telling them, for a change, your side of the story. Definitely, this has always been our experience in "Women for Peace" that, by listening and by talking, both sides become wiser.

[Doig] This, in fact, is what is now not going to happen between the Stellenbosch University students and the ANC in Lusaka, and that presumably was the Stellenbosch students' move for peace as they saw it. What would you do? Would you like to represent your group with a meeting with the ANC in Lusaka, Irma?

[Xenopoulos] I would think that if the opportunity presents itself, "Women for Peace" would talk to the ANC. I think that one should listen to their viewpoint. It is true that they follow an official policy of violence. They have promoted it. They said that this is what they will do, that they will escalate violence. One must also keep in mind that in South Africa many black people hold the view that the government's police of apartheid and racial discrimination, they perceive that as violence, and one should take all these factors into account and speak to those who are prepared to speak to you.

[Doig] James, in Cape Town, will you go along with that? Would you too see your group make a move toward Lusaka in spite of the fact that it meets with the leaders of this country's strong disapproval?

[Baigrie] I would go along with Irma's statement that if people are willing to talk, if they say they are willing to talk, then the more than 50 percent to that communication is listening and if Deputy Ron Miller [foreign minister], for instance, who just now was correct in saying that there is a new avenue between the government and the ANC, well let's see the government walking down it and that will prove that it is really there.

[Doig] Would you like to comment on that, Cindy, your view?

[Leontsinis] Yes, well, I traveled overseas a great deal and I have made the point of visiting anti-apartheid movement offices and ANC offices in every country asking them what their aims are, and they have always said that they are for revolution in our country and I have always said to them: You want a revolution? Oh yes, that is what we want. And then I say: Well, what then? Oh no, that is what we want, is a revolution. [as received] Now what concerns me is what happens after the revolution. What are their plans and I feel very strongly that people must definitely say they are not prepared to involve themselves in violence. And I am very against these students going up to Lusaka to speak to the ANC.

[Doig] Your particular group, "Victims Against Terrorism," what does it stand for? What does that mean?

[Leontsinis] Our country is a victim, actually, of terrorism. It is under a great attack right now from right around the world and also we feel that the people in this country are victims of terrorist activities in the townships and so on, and we do our best to encourage the moderate black leaders to stand up and represent their people, which is very difficult for them right now. As

you know there is so much intimidation in the townships. And we feel of course very strongly for the families who have children, now, in the ANC and in SWAPO. I know of some parents who have come to us whose children are in ANC camps and they say: You know, their children haven't got shoes, haven't got clothes, they are not fit, they want to leave but of course if they do attempt to leave they are shot.

[Doig] I would like to interrupt you here in terms of a survey which has recently been conducted by "Women for Peace," and I don't know statistically, the figures are enormously strong but, of the 1,800 questionnaires sent out in the Johannesburg area there were 440 replies. What would you say would be the most significant response or conclusion that you could reach?

[Xenopoulos] From our survey?

[Doig] Yes.

[Xenopoulos] Donna, I think the most significant response from the survey was the fact that 90 percent of the respondents wanted the army to be withdrawn from the townships. In fact, their opinions were so strong that they would underline what they wrote. They would fill in comments although we simply asked for a "yes" or a "no." The question was: How do you feel about the presence of the army in the townships? Do you feel that it is a good thing or do you feel it is a bad thing? Do you feel protected by it or do you feel threatened by it? And people would fill in: Yes, it is bad, it is more than bad. These soldiers are trained to kill. Now we feel that the reply that we got is very significant and it bears out what we have been told by our members, that they perceive an army in their townships as a terror, as something that frightens them. An army of the sort that is trained to kill, and they perceive it as a war.

[Doig] How do you respond to that, Cindy, that they do see the presence of the army with profound anger and fear?

[Leontsinis] I think... [changes thought] it might be possible that some of the respondents were politically motivated, that is, they welcomed disorder, or they were afraid of intimidation and that this prompted them to give the answer they gave. And something I noticed in the survey was that 7 percent out of 440 people who replied, that is 30 people, were actually for the army's staying in the townships and 16 percent of the 440, which is over 70 people, wanted protection from the police which is actually about 100 people out of 440. I know this is a minority but I wouldn't want these people to get the necklace [burning tire around the neck], and I feel that is the government's duty to protect these citizens....

[Baigrie, interrupting] Donna, can I come in on that?

[Doig] Yes, please.

[Baigrie] On this question on surveys and statistics, it seems to me that the statistics are pushed around a little bit, but there are two common points that Irma and Cindy are I think referring to. The one is this question of popular support and the other is, of course, the question which both have mentioned



as the fact that there is violence on both sides. To touch the last one first; there seems to me to be an inherent contradiction in government saying that it demands that the ANC renounces violence before it is willing to talk to them because the government itself at the moment is retaining control of the country only by extreme violence. So we have got it: Both sides at the moment are advocating and using violence to achieve their ends. As regards popularity, "Let South Africa Speak," for instance, which is 8, 9 weeks old at the moment, at the moment we are already distributing and have been for several weeks now more than 10,000 manifestos a week, purely in response to demand. It started with a trial marketing survey of 100 by a group of Cape Town businessmen on 14 August and the numbers quickly leaped to 2,000 a week, then to 7,000 and steadily now 10,000 a week.

[Doig] James, accepting the fact that there is a response, I would like to question you here on your actual manifesto. One of the comments that you make is: We must teach our leaders how to lead. There is no reference, however, to any real issues, and there seems to be a certain naivete in your approach. What actually is your issue?

[Baigrie] The issue that we are addressing is the fact that in this country at the moment no one can genuinely say, I don't think, that they have a educated political opinion. The reason is quite simple. We are not enabled, we are not allowed, to hear the political opinions that are held by the leaders who claim to represent large groups of people within the country.

[Doig] Which leaders are you referring to? Who would you nominate as our leaders?

[Baigrie] We have government leaders. We have [words indistinct] and it is all very well for Deputy Minister Miller to talk about being at war with the ANC and later on to link them with the United Democratic Front [UDF] that when the UDF has a rally it produces tens of thousands of people who are South Africans. So if he is at war with the ANC and the UDF, he is at war with South Africa, and that is a tragic situation to be in, and particularly, then, not to allow the nation what the issue is by allowing us to hear what the UDF or what the ANC are actually proposing. Let us hear their solutions. Let us see the leaders proposing these solutions and then we will be able, perfectly easily, to decide for ourselves whether we want those solutions whether we want those leaders to help us to come through this particular stage in our history.

[Doig] You would like to make a point, Irma?

[Xenopoulos] Yes, I would like to follow up on that. We are often told that most of the leaders are in jail or they are detained, so there is nobody free to speak. It is true that many more people could come forward to speak and the survey which "Women for Peace" did was an attempt to hear what the people are saying because communication with the blacks in townships have been very much cut off, and black people are seen to be very confused themselves politically. They are afraid to say what they feel. They are afraid to come out with what they feel. They are intimidated from both sides and what we got here was a very clear call for many things. And I must point out that this survey

was handed [out] by "Women for Peace" members in townships at great risk to themselves, and we didn't know whether people would be prepared to respond to this. So with that in mind we attached an envelope that was addressed and stamped, so that the people could simply send it back. And people did go to the trouble to send it back and the survey was handed out at random. And the fact that 25 percent of the respondents were scholars seems to indicate a tremendous need for communication seeking for an answer at this time.

[Baigrie] I would support that, Donna if I could. We received... [changes thought] I said that we distribute in response, purely to demand coming through the mail more than 10,000 a week of our manifestos together with the stickers for use on motor cars, together with yellow ribbons for use of briefcases, wing mirrors, and so on. The response is enormous and it is coming from every level in the population, scholars, domestics, leaders, executives....

[Doig, interrupting] James, accepting the fact that we are moving now into the sort of marketing techniques of actual communication, one further point to be raised, and I would like, Cindy, for you to comment on this. I think a lot of people noted with interest that "Women for Peace,"--the questions they posed--did not include... [changes thought] They asked the reasons for the violence within the townships....

[Leontsinis, interrupting] We asked the reasons for unrest....

[Doig, interrupting] Unrest. One question you did not pose and was the people's feelings regarding the unrest; did it receive their approval or disapproval?

[Leontsinis] One of the things that did come out of this, a small percentage of the respondents, 6 percent, blamed students, of which 3 percent were in favor of the students and 3 percent blamed them for it. [sentence as heard] Now I...

[Xenopoulos, interrupting] I would like to really say something.

[Leontsinis] The greatest danger, I feel, that you could possibly face in your movement is actually crossing the street to have your hair done, and I feel that the blacks in the townships have to run the gauntlet every morning to go to work. Do you know what intimidation is really about? And, also, I wonder whether you are actually on the path of evolution or revolution?

[Baigrie] Donna, could I just... [changes thought] I resent that remark. It was facetious and it does not add to the debate. [General interruptions from all]

[Doig] Excuse me, ladies, gentleman, all of you. Thank you all for your contribution. I am going to have to wind up this discussion, and I think probably the contretemps we have had at the end may lead me to the conclusion: Can, in fact, we define precisely what or who is our enemy, in terms of peace, when we find among ourselves, possibly, a great lack of mutual understanding and communication? On that note--it may be positive, it may be doubtful, it may be negative--we can only thank our panel for joining us.

[Baigrie] I disagree, Donna...Thank you.

[Doig] Thank you.

SOUTH AFRICA

COMMENTARY DISCUSSES WESTERN AID, SANCTIONS

MB220953 Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 22 Oct 85

[Station commentary: "Sanctions and the West"]

[Text] African states should take careful note of the warning issued by the United States that they should not approach the United States hat in hand once the effects of the sanctions campaign against South Africa is felt in those states. The warning came at a time when the sanctions cry against South Africa was reaching fever pitch at the Commonwealth Conference in the Bahamas. The obvious reason for this is that in the past number of years there has been growing opposition in the West to providing developing countries with mere handouts.

The West has become sick and tired of providing huge amounts of aid in support of the political vendettas of African states and it has become tired of pouring aid down a bottomless African pit of economic ineptitude.

Western spokesmen have declared repeatedly that they do not mind providing assistance if it is directed toward African states' standing on their own feet. In any event, it is impossible for the West to compensate adequately for the effects of sanctions on the states of southern Africa. Not only are most of these black states totally dependent on South Africa for many vital products, but South African transport routes are essential for their exports.

It is for these reasons that the West is encouraging an economic policy of interdependence in southern Africa. It is for these reasons too that the Nkomati Accord between South Africa and Mozambique is widely praised in Western circles.

A telling example of Western attitudes toward economic cooperation in southern Africa was given some 2 years ago. At that time, relations between South Africa and Lesotho were at an all time low. Questioned about this, the project director of the World Bank, Mr (Jose Bronzeman), indicated that if relations between South Africa and Lesotho did not improve, the World Bank would withdraw from the Highlands Water Project. The point to make is that the more there is a deterioration of relations between South Africa and her neighbors, the more reluctant the West becomes to invest in neighboring states because of the erosion of stability.

Like it or not, economically South Africa and her neighbors are in the same boat. Should that boat be rocked, all are in trouble but they will be the ones to go down first. Rhodesia survived sanctions for some 14 years. Compared with Rhodesia, South Africa is an economic giant.

SOUTH AFRICA

ANGLO-AMERICAN CHIEF ON SANCTIONS' IMPACT ON REGION

MB220551 Johannesburg Television Service in English 1700 GMT 21 Oct 85

[Text] A leading South African businessman has commented on the impact sanctions would have on neighboring states, saying that foreign aid would fail to meet the economic requirements of southern African states hit by sanctions. The chairman of Anglo-American, Mr Gavin Relly, has just returned from a 5-week business visit to Britain, New Zealand, and Australia, and spoke to Cliff Saunders.

[Begin video] [Relly] I think that if sanctions are going to be effective against South Africa, they are bound to overflow into the other countries. I would have thought that our neighbors will suffer pari passu with us.

[Saunders] Even should the West and other states come to the assistance of these African states, do you believe that they could compensate adequately for severed economic links with South Africa?

[Relly] Well, I think the tendency is for this not to be so in practice. I remember in Zambia, when aid was offered to it for its stand against UDI, this was never at all adequate to really meet the requirements of the time. So I rather doubt whether that would be the case here.

[Saunders] There has been talk of formal negotiations with the ANC. Your business group had an opportunity to sound out ANC views about 6 weeks ago. To be quite frank, Mr Relly, would the ANC negotiations stop short of demanding the replacement of the white minority with the black majority, and preferably the ANC?

[Relly] Well, the way to find out the answer to that question is to talk to them. At this moment, of course, they have a very clear position. They want simple majoritarianism tomorrow. But you cannot find these things out if you never talk to people, and I would have thought that if we have a sincere interest in a stable, prosperous, and just society in South Africa, then quite obviously you cannot go that route that they suggest. It has got to be something very different to that. And I would have thought that that is something they would perceive too. [end video]

SOUTH AFRICA

SOWETO PARENTS ASK WITHDRAWAL OF SADF

MB211245 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1117 GMT 21 Oct 85

[Text] Johannesburg, 21 October, SAPA--The writing of high school examinations depends on issues regarding the withdrawal of the defence force from Soweto and the release of detained pupils.

The deputy minister of law and order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has consented to the possible deferring of the examinations to January, said a joint statement issued by the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee (SPCC) and the deputy minister of education and development aid, Mr Sam de Beer.

The SPCC were scheduled to meet the deputy minister on Saturday to negotiate the withdrawal of troops and the release of detained pupils.

However, Mr Vlok had to attend another urgent matter and the committee met with Mr Sam de Beer.

At a meeting held yesterday at St Margaret's Catholic Church, Diepkloof, parents and pupils said the committee should still meet with Mr Vlok about the matter.

The pupils said they would not write exams until the issue was resolved.

SPCC said that exams already written at some secondary schools in Soweto would be declared null and void.

A spokesman for SPCC said they expected Mr de Beer to inform all schools in Soweto that all examinations would be written after consensus had been reached and a joint statement by his department and the committee had been issued.

Following a unanimous decision, all creche-going children and primary school pupils should be allowed to attend school normally. Drastic action would be taken against anyone found molesting primary school pupils.

Matric pupils in Mamelodi township, Pretoria, voted against writing the end-year examinations due to begin on Friday.

The decision was made at a meeting of the Mamelodi Parents Association (MPA) and high school principals.

Pupils refused to write the exams as they had not learnt anything during the year because of class boycotts. They also said their demands for equal education under one department had not been met and that many of their colleagues were still being detained.

It was further agreed that Std [standard] 6 to Std 9 pupils were included in the decision against writing the exams as they had also been affected by the boycotts.

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CSO: 3400/223

SOUTH AFRICA

NATAL'S TWO MAIN NEWSPAPERS TO BE TAKEN OVER BY NEW COMPANY

Johannexburg BUSINESS DAY in English 4 Oct 85 p 1

[Text]

NATAL'S two main daily newspapers, the *Natal Mercury* and the *Daily News*, are to be taken over by a new company formed jointly by their present owners.

The new company, Natal Newspapers, will be 70% owned by the Argus publishing group and 30% by Robinson & Co. It will own, print and publish the *Daily News*, *Natal Mercury*, *Sunday Tribune*, *Ilanga* and *Post Natal*.

SA Associated Newspapers, publisher of *Business Day*, *Sunday Times* and *Financial Mail*, will retain its 49% stake in Robinson & Co. Saan has approved the deal, which becomes effective on November 1.

Announcing the move in Durban yesterday, Robinson & Co MD David Robinson said he had approached Argus for a merger as it had become increasingly difficult to fund the *Mercury*.

Projected losses for next year for the *Mercury* are in the six-figure bracket and are expected to increase.

The Competition Board has approved the arrangement on condition Robinson & Co continues to appoint the editor of the *Mercury* and determine its editorial policy. The Argus board will continue to appoint the editors of the former Argus newspapers.

The Minister of Home Affairs has also approved the scheme.

Competition Board chairman Steph Naude said last night the merger was in the public interest.

"It is to be regretted that an independently controlled newspaper is to lose that independence. However it is clear that, as has happened to other newspapers in recent times, the *Natal Mercury* cannot survive financially under present circumstances."

CSO: 3400/188

SOUTH AFRICA

TECHNIKON STATEMENT CALL FOR INQUIRY INTO POLICE ACTION

Cape Town THE ARGUS in English 27 Sep 85 p 17

[Text]

THE academic community of the Peninsula Technikon met in congregation today in the hall of the Bellville Training College.

Dr Franklin Sonn, rector of the Technikon, has issued a statement explaining that "a series of most concerning events have compelled the Technikon to take the unprecedented step of calling the academic community together in this manner".

The statement calls for an inquiry, independent of the State, into allegations of unlawful action by the security forces.

The statement reads:

IN recent weeks we have observed, and at times been part of, turbulent events in our city. The polarisation which we know exists in our society has been reflected, overtly and politically, in a range of public actions by sections of the community, some non-violent, others not so.

Our Technikon could not fail to be affected by these events.

An institution such as ours, which stands in the community, must of necessity be touched by issues which impinge deeply upon its members as citizens.

Over the last two months we have suffered the trauma of seeing the conflict which had previously affected other parts of our country spread to our own city and our own institution, finally leading to the temporary disruption of our academic programme.

When we view the response of our students to the issues around them, our attitude is one of deep identification and understanding.

As educationists, we are aware of the effect which the apartheid system has had on education in South Africa. This iniquitous system, in its totality and in its specific form of educational discrimination, has been felt particularly heavily by our young people.

The pressures which apartheid has brought to bear on them have, in a very real sense, deprived them of their youth.

They have assumed responsibilities which we, with our experience, should have wished to bear on their behalf, but from which we have been unable to shield them.

This inability on our part to ease the burden on our students, this impotence in the face of social forces we have been unable to control, is part of our experience as educationists in the cruel environment of apartheid.

## Affidavits

In recent weeks, a deep rift has developed between our community on the one hand and the security forces, and the South African Police in particular, on the other.

Peaceful expressions of opinion have often been viewed by the authorities as posing a severe threat to public order and therefore, in their opinion, requiring the intervention of both the police and military branches of Government.

Furthermore, many ordinary citizens have made statements and affidavits to the effect that the security forces, in performing their duties, have exceeded the bounds of legality and have, on occasion, behaved with callous disregard for the rights of individuals.

Responsible and representative bodies have expressed serious disquiet over both these allegations and the alarming number of deaths that have resulted from clashes between the security forces and private individuals.

## Casspirs

At the very least, an inquiry, independent of the State, must be instituted as a matter of urgency into allegations of unlawful action by the security forces.



Such an inquiry is necessary if people are not to be left with the impression that our society offers them no independent avenue of redress should they fall victim to wrongful action by the State, or perpetrated in the name of the State.

Our concern with these broad questions arises precisely because of our specific experiences in recent times.

On one occasion last month, police in Casspirs invaded our campus and forcibly entered our hostel in order to arrest students.

At that time, our classes were in normal progress. The presence of the Casspirs and the brute strength of the police in breaking down the hostel doors and removing our students did not only disrupt our academic programme, but brought home most bitterly our feeling of impotence to protect our students.

Our feeling that our academic community had been violated by this action, we realised, mirrored the sense of humiliation and outrage experienced by so many ordinary South Africans around us.

It furthermore placed immense pressures on our students, resulting in grave difficulties to pursue the primary objectives of the Technikon, viz, academic work. In spite of that most of our students have persisted with their academic programme by attending lectures.

Our experiences do not end there. The immediate cause of our gathering today is that on Tuesday, September 17, three of our students were arrested by the South African Police for no lawful reason known to us and were then reportedly subjected to brutal and degrading treatment before being released without charge.

According to the affidavits of the students, the policemen involved physically assaulted our students and subjected them to threats, outrageous obscenities and most abusive language.

### **'On us all'**

The students are all being represented by attorneys who are attending to their clients' individual interests.

We as an institution, however, wish to respond to this incident. We need to respond because an attack on any one member of our academic community is an attack on us all.

Students are in our care and our capability of protecting them is limited by the peculiar circumstances operative in this particular society. We will not abrogate our duty and responsibility to make them and their parents know that we will do our best to exercise this function even if it is merely to protest.

As an academic community we insist that our members, at all times, observe the highest standards of behaviour. No less do we insist that those standards be reciprocated when we deal with those outside our community.

When, instead of reciprocation, we meet abuse and brutality, we interpret these as an assault on our dignity and integrity as a body of scholars.

We do so in the firm belief that the values of learning and mature academic discussion, which we seek to uphold, contribute more to the maintenance of the essential fabric of

our society than the violence and intimidation by certain members of the South African Police.

The Peninsula Technikon continues to believe that educational opportunity is a vital non-negotiable commodity, but that it is imperative that the education we offer must be of particular relevance to the needs of our students in the society in which they live.

● We believe in freedom of expression.

● We believe that with freedom goes responsibility.

● We believe in the dignity of the individual and in the protection of his dignity and rights.

● We believe in the protection of the unfettered pursuit of knowledge and truth.

● We believe that reason and faith must at all times supercede force and coercion.

Insofar therefore as the callous actions of the South African Police have deeply offended these tenets of our proud institution, their actions stand condemned on this worthy occasion, which provides us with the opportunity to solemnly rededicate ourselves to these high values and to pledge ourselves anew to uphold them in the firm belief that we ourselves are the custodians. No one will protect them on our behalf.

We are deeply conscious of this responsibility and will rise to defend our honour and integrity at all times.

8 November 1985

## SOUTH AFRICA

## RIGHTWING AFRIKANERS SEEK BACKING FOR TREATY

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 11 Oct 85 p 4

[Article by Andrew Thomson]

[Text]

**RIGHTWING** Afrikaans organisations, including the Afrikaner Volkswag and the Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging, have launched a campaign to obtain signatories to a new document known as the "Afrikanerverbond" or Afrikaner Treaty.

The treaty affirms the Afrikaner's commitment to God, the Bible, constitutional freedom, a fatherland, Christian national education, economic independence, and self-determination.

The document was distributed for the first time yesterday at a meeting of about 3 500 people at Silkaatsnek north of Pretoria.

The meeting was addressed by the chairman of the Afrikaner Volkswag, Professor Carel Boshoff, after a colourful historical pageant which was largely contributed to by the leader of the AWB, Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche. Also present at the meeting were Mrs

Betsie Verwoerd and other members of the Verwoerd family.

Prof Boshoff told the meeting that the Afrikaner people were irrevocably opposed to a unitary state and insisted on their own "republican freedom", but were also in favour of other groups achieving their own freedom.

In the economic sphere, Afrikaners demanded protection for their jobs, and in any future sovereign Afrikaner state immigration and influx control as well as a work permit system would be enforced.

On the subject of an Afrikaner state, Prof Boshoff said that any nation required its own country in order to ensure its survival.

"No nation's future is safe in a country which does not exclusively belong to it," he said, "which is not controlled, occupied and worked by it."

He said the Afrikaner had a right to his own fatherland and was prepared to offer his life for that end. The Afrikaner also had a right to his own

educational system, based on Christian nationalism.

Prof Boshoff said the Afrikaner rejected the notion that his will to self-determination and separate development was in contrast to the teachings of the Bible, and he said the Church was not meant to be a vehicle for integrationist policies.

"Some clerics misuse the church in trying to apply pressure on the consciences of Afrikaners, filling them with a false sense of guilt, and encouraging them to sacrifice their freedom and calling for which their forefathers fought and suffered."

The historical pageant presented at the meeting covered the history of the Afrikaner from the landing of Van Riebeeck up to the present day. A large section of the narrative was delivered by the leader of the AWB, Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche, who stood at a microphone behind the set. The pageant included a dramatisation of the new Constitution, and this was greeted by cries of "skande", "nonsens" and "nooit" by the audience.

8 November 1985

## SOUTH AFRICA

## BOTHASAYS COLONIALISTS TO BLAME FOR DELAY IN BLACK FRANCHISE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 11 Oct 85 p 4

[Text]

DELAAREYVILLE. — If anybody was to blame for the delay in Black constitutional development it was the former colonial powers and not the South African Government, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday.

Unveiling a monument in memory of local boers who died in the Anglo-Boer War, he said: "Lord Milner had, in the forced peace of Vereeniging, ensured there was to be no franchise for Black people after the introduction of self-government, which was never intended.

"It was only after half a century that an Afrikaner government started doing something about Black rights," Mr Botha told nearly a thousand people at an open air meeting in the town.

If blame was to apportioned for the delay in Blacks' constitutional development this should not be laid at the South African

Government's doorstep but at that of the colonial powers that had delayed progress and had

not started work on solving the problems of South Africa's people.

Mr Botha said nearly 28 000 boers, women and children, had died in the British concentration camps and that this crime against humanity was in principle identical to that committed by Hitler.

A little-known fact, however, was that thousands of Black people had also been put in concentration camps because they worked with the boers.

According to available records, at least 13 300 Black men, women and children had died in these camps.

Mr Botha appealed to all in South Africa to learn from the lessons of the past.

The boer governments had been unable to escape the dilemma of having to choose between war and giving in to pressure.

"We must not fall into the same dilemma . . . we must make a plan and we must stand together", he said.

The struggle for freedom and justice could only be achieved through unity.

"I also appeal to you, even though I know you have been through very hard times lately, not to despair and give up", Mr Botha told his audience which consisted largely of people in the farming community.

The State President urged people not to allow differences to lead to conflicts, warning that the "Godless communists and their supporters are on our borders and they will not distinguish among us".

The people should also not play into the hands of those who spread malicious propaganda against the country's security forces.

The Afrikaner people themselves should also stand united, otherwise they would die as a people.

"We mustn't work with perceptions and impressions, we must work with realities", he said. — Sapa.

SOUTH AFRICA

GROUP SLAMS AFRIKAANS PAPER OVER GIVING BAD IMAGE TO KRUGER DAY

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 11 Oct 85 p 4

[Text]

PROF P G Nel, chairman of the Krugergenootskap yesterday lashed out at an Afrikaans newspaper, which "had applied spiteful attempts to harm the image of the Krugergenootskap", and added that they "would not be intimidated".

Speaking at the Kruger Day festivities at the Heroes' Acre in Pretoria, Prof Nel said the inclusion of Government leaders from laying wreaths at Heroes' Acre did not imply that the Krugergenootskap "failed to appreciate authority".

The participation of Government leaders had always been appreciated in the past, he said.

Prof Nel was referring

to media reports to the effect that the Kruger Day festivities was a plot under the cloak of culture by Rightwing Afrikaners to "hijack" the festivities.

Prof Nel was earlier reported to have said that the aim of this year's Kruger Day festivities was to involve the youth in cultural activities.

In a message, Prof Nel yesterday said: "The youth was not only a precious possession, but a link through which precious memories could be cherished and transferred to the next generation."

Prof Nel expressed hope that the Kruger Day

festivities influenced by Youth Year, would inspire the youth to become more involved in cultural activities.

Among the representatives who laid wreaths at the Heroes' Acre yesterday were the Mayor of Pretoria, Dr P J Kruger (on behalf of the City of Pretoria), Prof Nel (Afrikaanse kultuurraad of Pretoria), Mrs A Boshoff (Afrikanervolkswag), Mr C P Snyman (Junior Rapportryers-beweging), Mrs M Fick (SA Vrouefederasie) Mr B Bester (Pretoria Technikon), Mr J P van Niekerk, Mr Daan Lessing and F J J Coetzee (University of Pretoria) and various other organisations and institutions.

CSO: 3400/212

SOUTH AFRICA

SABMAWU DELEGATE SPEAKS ON DEGRADATION OF BLACK WORKERS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 3 Oct 85 p 7

[Article by Ali Mphaki]

[Text]

**THE black workers in South Africa neither owns nor has any control over the goods he produces, and like his products the worker is reduced to the level of a commodity.**

This was said by a delegate of the South African Black Municipal Allied Workers' Union (Sabmawu) at the 25th world congress of the Post Telecommunication Telegraph International (PTTI) held in Switzerland recently.

The delegate said the black worker has a feeling of misery rather than of well being, and does not develop freely his mental and physical energies but it physically exhausted and mentally debased."

Sabmawu was the only South African trade union represented at the congress.

The PTTI is an international trade union which has affiliates throughout the world. Sabmawu is also an affiliate.

The delegate went on to say that a low monetary value is placed on the worker's head, and the cost of his labour assessed in the same way or even less than the cost of machinery or raw material.

### **Slavery**

"Our type of wage labour is a system of slavery, involving the exploitation of black workers."

The delegate told the congress that though it was good to hear other unionists from other countries talking about basic union rights and automatically thinking that the employer will have to toe the line.

"It was saddening in

South Africa that before we can think of that stage where we can negotiate for trade union rights, we first have to struggle to organise our own brothers and sisters, who would rather suffer silently than join trade unions — for fear of being harassed and arrested."

### **Ideology**

The delegate said that for a long time ago State had transmitted ruling class ideology, thereby creating "false consciousness," which largely maintained the subject class in its subordinate position.

"This not only justified and legitimated rul-

ing class ideology, but also reproduced the attitudes and behaviour required by the minority groups in the division of labour.

"It taught workers to accept and to submit to their exploitation, and the agents of exploitation and repression — the managers and administrators — how to practice their crafts and rule the workforce," the delegate said.

The PTTI executive committee also proposed draft resolutions on South Africa, saluting also those in the country who struggle against apartheid — all the martyrs, victims and heroes of the "struggle".

SOUTH AFRICA

# AMAJINGQI TRIBE TO GET LAND BACK

East London DAILY DISPATCH in English 20 Sep 85 p 5

[Text]

BISHO — The Ciskei Government has rescinded its decision to excise some of the land from the head of the Amajingqi tribe, Chief Lent Maqoma, and give it to the Healdtown community authority.

A Grahamstown attorney for Chief Maqoma, Mr Bonisile Sandi, said yesterday that an out-of-court agreement had been reached between his client and the Ciskei Government, which had been cited as the first respondent, and the chairman of the Healdtown community authority, Mr Nkubevana.

Last month Chief Maqoma applied for a court order declaring the proclamation under which the land was excised null and void and declaring the affected areas of Mazorka, Mdeni, Nobanda and Wezo in the Victoria East to be part of the area of the Amajingqi.

Mr Sandi said the government offered to publish a Government Gazette withdrawing the previous proclamation in which the tribal land had been excised. The government had conceded the merits of his client's application and had not defended the case.

In papers before the court, Chief Maqoma, who held several cabinet posts before he was axed earlier this year, said the farm, Hill View and the administrative areas referred to had been added to the Healdtown community authority without the knowledge and consent of the Amajingqi.

He said the "disestablishment and redefinition" of the boundaries of the area of the Amajingqi could be effected only by a proclamation in the Government Gazette after the President had consulted with the tribe and the communities affected.

CSO: 3400/188

SOUTH AFRICA

MAGOPA TRIBE ASKS GERRIT FOR OLD LAND

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 4-10 Oct 85 p 5

[Text]

THE Bakwena Ba Magopa tribe, who recently won an historic court ruling declaring their forced removal unlawful, have begun proceedings to claim back their land.

This week, lawyers for the tribe wrote to the Minister of Cooperation and Development, Gerrit Viljoen, asking that their expropriated land be returned.

In the letter they reserved the right to bring any legal action, including an action for damages for their forced removal and the expropriation of their land.

The Mogopa tribe were forcibly removed from their Western Transvaal farm in February last year, amidst an international outcry.

Shortly after being dumped in Pachsdraai, they instituted an appeal

to the courts to rule that their removal was unlawful.

About two weeks ago, the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court upheld their appeal, ruling that the government had in fact acted unlawfully.

In the interim, their land was expropriated by the state and they were not notified at all, nor were they offered compensation.

This week, they informed Viljoen that they wished to return to their land.

They asked Viljoen to respond to this proposal, or to make arrangements to discuss the position with them.

They added, however, that they would not accept the status quo, nor would they accept the government's proposal that they live in Pachsdraai.

CSO: 3400/210

SOUTH AFRICA

REPORTER EXAMINES VIEWS, ACTIVITIES OF TOWNSHIP CHILDREN

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 27 Sep 85 p 7

[Article by Sipho Ngcobo]

[Text]

WHILE some Soweto children are determined to bring about political change in the country at any cost, others are not in favour of boycotts and resent the disruption of their studies.

Those intent on bringing about political change are fully committed — even to violence.

Tebogo (17), of Diepkloof, a Form 3 student, talks forcefully, a scowl always on his face. While not a member of any organisation he is a firm believer in rioting and tough measures to discipline those "who are retarding the progress of the struggle".

"Sell-outs and police informers deserve to be burned alive. Those who defy calls for consumer boycotts of white businesses must be taught a lesson," he said.

"Anybody who is spotted carrying a parcel bearing a mark of a city shop and if there happens to be a bottle of household cleaner in his parcel, he or she must be stopped and forced to drink it until he vomits. Even it is a five litre can of cooking oil she must still be forced to drink it all," he said.

"I and my comrades have done that a number of times. We have made them eat their meat parcels raw. They eat it, drink detergent and eat all the raw vegetables they have bought in town. They eat until there is nothing in the parcel.

On the other side there are others who do not favour school boycotts and are against participating in riot activities. A number complained that often they did not even know why classes were being boycotted as these issues "were not explained by those claiming to be student leaders".

"I want to go back to school. AmaCosas (members of the now-banned Congress of SA Students, Cosas) say we must boycott classes. Why? I want to go back to school and study until I am a doctor and build my mother a big house," said Pinkie (12), a Standard 5 pupil.

Patrick (20), of White City, whose father works as a general labourer for a newspaper company, said that the type of education he is receiving is inferior but: "Sinyinyova (we can destroy) and stay out of school, but we will be the ones who suffer in the end.

"Some of these things are not even properly explained to us. We are simply told to boycott classes without any explanation. These leaders take us for granted.

"I also think we should respect our parents because they toil for the money they finance our education with. However, that does mean I am not aware of the problems," he added.

A large number believe hurling a brick, half-brick or a stone at a



delivery vehicle from the neighbouring city of Johannesburg is one way of forcing change. They also believe P W Botha will be forced to release Mandela if the school boycotts, looting and burning continue.

These people also have no respect for their parents who they feel are still too apologetic "in spite of the sufferings in the townships".

"All they will say is how mad, how defiant, how stupid, how unruly we are to stay away from schools, to burn, loot and stone vehicles and sell-outs. They always say we are undermining their authority by doing things they never taught us to do when bringing us up," said Gary (19), of White City.

Gary, a matric student and former member of Cosas, reluctantly admitted that he had stoned delivery vehicles and had been involved in initiating boycotts at his school.

"You might not approve of what I have just told you. But what can one do under the circumstances? How does one get rid of Bantu Education? I have been at school for over ten years but I am still not sure if I can construct an English sentence correctly.

As our conversation progressed Gary became more open, with emotional outbursts in his broken English.

"Bra, Sipho, conditions and deprivations at schools are not so much of an issue. We want freedom and this will bring all the sufferings to a stop.

"I am not an intellectual nor am I too educated to interpret certain political terms and what apartheid means. But no one can explain better than I the sufferings I have gone through as a child.

Just then six of Gary's friends joined us. I had just asked about black councillors and township local government authorities.

"Wow . . ." They all exclaimed. "Councillors! They are sell-outs! Puppets! Any councillor needs a necklace (burning tyre) around his neck," said Vusi.

Vusi (18), a Form 3 student, does not belong to any of the student organisations, but regards councillors, policemen, police informers and members of the army as his arch-enemies.

He is one of the 746 Soweto High School students who were recently rounded up by members of the SADF under the emergency regulations. Vusi and the others spent a night at the new Johannesburg Prison in Diepkloof.

"We were arrested for absolutely nothing. What strikes me is that police and army do not want to see us wandering about in the streets, neither do they want us to boycott classes.

"One really can never know what to do to satisfy them. We have become targets. They shoot, arrest and harass us whenever it suits them," said Vusi.

Though Vusi did not know exactly what local government work entails, he felt black councillors were useless.

"They are spoiled by a sprinkling of our parents who back them morally. After all they are of the same generation. A generation of apologists and failures. Our parents want us to be lawyers, doctors, teachers and members of other professions.

"Can you make a good lawyer with the type of education we receive? How can you argue and defend your client in a court of law with education like ours?

"Our parents will never act. They just criticise! Criticise us! That is not relevant as far as we are concerned. They fail to realise that we have an alternative, a solution to our problems that will still be facing us in years to come. They would try to explain how much they love us. That is not good enough.

"*Siyayinyova* (we shall destroy)," he said, punching the air with his clenched fist.

A number of children I approached after the conversation with Vusi said they supported calls for class boycotts and most did not hide their hatred for the police and army.

The struggle must continue, Bantu Education must crumble, Mandela must be released and total freedom achieved.

SIYAYINYOVA — that's what the children of Soweto believe.

8 November 1985

## SOUTH AFRICA

## TRADE WITH TAIWAN, CHILE REPORTED

Johannesburg MINING WORLD in English Sep 85 p 18

[Text]

**A**s efforts to discourage trade with South Africa intensify, South African exporters should be looking to those countries with which we can claim particularly close and cordial relations," states John Bell, managing director of export market development consultants, Breyer Development Services.

Recently returned from one of his regular market development visits, Bell reports on two countries offering immediate and specific potential to South African exporters: Taiwan and Chile

"Taiwan is planning on spending R30 billion on infrastructure projects which could provide consulting, construction and direct export opportunities for many South African firms," he advises, "and just five projects alone will account for one-third of this amount." These include a major hydroelectric scheme in Mingtan to be developed over the

next ten years; a six year thermal power station project in Taichung; a massive expansion of China Steel Corporation's production capacity to 2.4 million tons per year by 1988; a ten year project for modernisation of the country's communications systems; a five year project for a mass transit system involving underground stations and tunnels.

Following his earlier visit to Chile, Bell advised of massive mining related projects, the cost of which would be government guaranteed.

"All purchases by both Taiwan and Chile are in U.S. dollars," advises Bell, "and given the extraordinarily good relations between South Africa and the respective governments of each, we are concentrating our efforts in these countries on behalf of clients of Breyer Development Services and we urge other exporters to do the same."

CSO: 3400/206

SOUTH AFRICA

DETAILS OF STATE-ASSISTED JOB-CREATING PROJECTS ANNOUNCED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 15 Oct 85 p 1

[Text]

**REPRESENTATIVES** of the private sector and trade unions met the Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, in Pretoria yesterday to discuss details of State-assisted job-creating projects as part of the recently announced R600-million economic relief package to counter widespread unemployment.

About R75-million has been made available to subsidise the private sector in creating temporary jobs, while a further amount of at least R50-million has been provided for similar projects by local authorities.

In a statement after the meeting, Mr Du Plessis said the following guidelines for private sector and local authority participation

in the scheme had been proposed:

- Funds would be made available on a project basis, through application to the Department of Manpower;

- Those projects which were not part of the normal profit-making activity of an organisation and which were in the interests of the community, would be given preference;

- Only those projects which gave unemployed people who were not eligible for related benefits could be given jobs. The prospective employer could recruit staff himself or the Department could refer people to him. In all cases employees had to be registered;

- Those given jobs would have to be employed as "casuals" to indicate contributions such as unemployment insurance would not be deducted from their wages.

- The State would provide a maximum amount of R8 an unemployed person a day for projects in cities and towns, of which a minimum of R4 a day had to be paid to the worker while the remainder would go to financing material, equipment, transport, administrative and other costs.

In rural areas the respective amounts would be R6 and R4.

- Claims would be handled on a monthly basis by the department's divisional inspectors and if necessary, advances on monthly expenditure could be forwarded;

- Preference would be given to those projects employing more than 20 people and lasting longer than two months;

— Sapa.

SOUTH AFRICA

NATAL BUSINESS GROUPS REJECT KWAZULU CONSOLIDATION

MB180938 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0900 GMT 18 Oct 85

[Text] Four of Natal's biggest organizations based in Durban have disassociated themselves from the hearing of the Commission for Cooperation and Development on the controversial consolidation proposals for KwaZulu. The commission began hearing evidence in Durban this morning.

The organizations are the Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce, the Natal Chamber of Industries; the Durban Sake Kamer [Durban Afrikaans Business Chamber] and the South African Sugar Association.

In a joint statement issued in Durban, the organizations say they are opposed to any further geographical consolidation of KwaZulu, because they see Natal and KwaZulu as an integrated economic unit. The four organizations say further consolidation would not be in keeping with the aim of providing a local political structure which would make provision for joint decisionmaking among the various population groups. They say progress on such a structure has been made by the provincial council and the KwaZulu Government.

The Zululand Chamber of Commerce and Industry has also stated its opposition to the consolidation proposals. The commission has already heard evidence at Vryheid and at Richard's Bay.

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CSO: 3400/225

SOUTH AFRICA

SOEKOR OFFICIAL REVIEWS FIRM'S PROGRESS

Johannesburg MINING WORLD in English Sep 85 pp 24, 27, 29

[Interview with Dr P.J. van Zijl--time, place not given]

[Text] In this interview, Dr P.J. van Zijl, managing director of Soekor--Southern Oil Exploration Corporation (Pty) Ltd--reveals a number of interesting facts concerning the exploration and possible exploitation of gas and oil off our shores. Two decades ago, Soekor's budget was R5 000 000/a, this figure now stands at R185 000 000/a. So far, Soekor has drilled about 100 wells and is presently drilling 14 to 16 holes per year, on average.

**Soekor has now been in business for two decades. What has been achieved by it, over this period of time?**

Soekor was brought into existence in May 1965. We started off with people inexperienced in oil exploration work and relied heavily on overseas expertise. Today we have a well organised team here -- oil geologists, geophysicists, drilling engineers. Our drilling costs are about one-half of those in the North Sea oilfields. We have not had any drilling problems for years and our work is progressing well.

One must also bear in mind that we have been operating at a very slow pace. We have only two rigs in operation, at times we only had one. Initially we drilled four holes per rig per year. We have just about doubled this rate.

We are thus exploring a little faster but you cannot compare our operation with that of, for instance, Brazil. At certain times that country has 30 active offshore rigs.

On the discovery side it is now fairly well-known that we have found gas off the Mossel Bay coast, and that very recently we have also found oil which we produced on surface at the rate of 2 500 barrels per day.

**What has the oil search cost this country since the mid 1960s?**

By the end of March this year, that is the end of our financial year, we spent a total of R500 000 000 over a 20-year period. This is a large sum of money, but if we compare our exploration with that of Brazil, we find that they spend about US dollars 500 000 000 per annum or double the amount we spent over the total period of our existence.

**How has Soekor's budget changed over the years, and what is Soekor's annual budget now?**

Our first budget was R5 000 000 per annum. This figure has increased by leaps and bounds, as costs went up

and up. For quite a while our budget was R130 000 000 per annum, but it now stands at R185 000 000 for the current financial year. We obtain our funds from Government and tell Parliament how we have spent the money.

**How many wells have been drilled by Soekor?**

We have so far drilled about 100 wells offshore, and are presently drilling 14—16 holes per year, on average. Each hole is roughly  $\pm 3\ 000$  m deep, measured from the floor of the drilling platform which is our datum. Holes are 36" in diameter to start off with, they gradually diminish in size and are 8½" in diameter at bottom. The main portion of the hole is 12¼" in diameter. We use hardened steel toothbits and tungsten carbide button bits for drilling.

Coring is carried out by means of diamond crowns. We normally core when passing through reservoir rock, i.e. rock where we expect to find oil or gas and this interval is a distance of about 100 m to 120 m.

We have covered the whole coast from Mozambique to the Orange River and some portions of offshore South West Africa by means of seismic surveys. We have a general picture of the whole of the offshore and a more detailed picture of certain areas. There is still a tremendous amount of work to be done. I think we are still at the beginning of the process of finding out whether or not we have worthwhile deposits of oil or gas offshore.

**Has exploration on land been abandoned altogether?**

Soekor has abandoned the land search and will not spend more money on it, but there are still some private people as well as some small companies who are carrying on on small concessions given to them by Soekor. Soekor and other interested parties have together drilled more than 200 holes on land.

**Is Soekor presently the only organisation at work offshore?**

Yes, but there has always been some interest from other companies. They come and look at what we are doing, but have not over the last decade invested any money. Perhaps they will do so now we have met with some success.

**In what sort of geological environment is Soekor operating offshore, and what are the main geophysical exploration tools employed?**

We are drilling mainly in Cretaceous sediments with some Tertiary cover. These rocks are of the same age as are being explored elsewhere offshore in the world for oil and gas. You need to do a lot of drilling before you begin to understand the offshore geology. Whereas on land you can walk about and record the geology as it outcrops, offshore you have to employ geophysical methods and drilling.

Each summer we shoot a seismic programme, which varies in scope from 4 000 km to 8 000 km. Weather conditions are unfavourable in winter for this type of work. The sort of equipment used improves all the time and we are getting much better images now than a few years ago.

Apart from seismic work, we also log our wells electronically. By this means we are further able to correlate the various sedimentary beds found in different holes.

**Where are your present target areas?**

The main area is south of Mossel Bay where we have found a number of gas fields and south-east of that in the direction of Plettenberg Bay. We are also working in an area south-west of Port Elizabeth where much work remains to be done. We further have a number of drilling targets on the west coast, which we hope to investigate closer in the next year or so. Presently we have a study in progress to determine whether it would be

economic to produce the gas we have found in the Mossel Bay area and convert it into fuel.

The areas which are most disappointing are those off the coasts of Ciskei, Transkei and the southern portion of the Natal coast. These areas have a narrow Continental Shelf, almost bare of sediments.

**How many people are involved in Soekor's exploration programme?**

We employ some 350 people and these include about 60 geologists and geophysicists. In addition there are several contractors. For instance a rig has 40 people working per shift and there are two shifts being worked, so you have 160 people on the two rigs alone. Then there are other contractors operating diving equipment, work boats, helicopters, cementing equipment, downhole surveying equipment, etc.

Seismic surveying is carried out under contract, so is the processing of seismic results. The latter work is carried out abroad and our own people monitor the processing.

We also employ contractors for shooting off the well-head after a hole has been drilled. This well-head is a large piece of metal protruding

Dr P.J. van Zijl was born at Gouda in 1926, and grew up in the Western Cape where he matriculated at Piquetberg and graduated from Stellenbosch University in 1946. He worked as a geologist in the Transvaal, Zimbabwe, Zambia and South West Africa, and joined Soekor at its start in 1965 as chief geologist. He became general manager in 1975 and managing director in 1977.

from the sea-floor. It has to be removed as it may prove to be a hazard to fishing nets dragged on or just above the sea-floor.

Today we are self-sufficient, in the main. South Africa even has South African-trained drillers working overseas such as those based in Cape Town and working in South America, the North Sea or the Far East. They usually work on a 28-day on 28-day off schedule, and they go almost anywhere in the world today.

**Initially, Soekor relied heavily on imported expertise. Is this still the case?**

We still employ an overseas consulting geologist, but in the main we rely on our own expertise. In the beginning we were inundated with consultants. If we started to produce gas or oil, we would in the beginning again have to rely on imported know-how.

**Would an economically viable find of oil or gas be equally welcome?**

No, we would rather find oil than gas. If you find oil, all you have to do is bring it ashore by tanker or pipeline and process it in existing oil refineries. Gas would have to be converted into a liquid fuel in a new gas conversion plant, which then is in fact the equivalent of a new refinery.

**What would be the costs involved in establishing a viable field and how large would it have to be for exploration to be?**

If we produced gas offshore at Mossel Bay say, brought it ashore and converted it into a liquid fuel, I would say that the project would cost the country about R3 000 000 000. Such a gas-field would have to be of the order of one trillion c.ft. of reserves, drawing 150 000 000 c.ft. of gas from it, per day, and the project would have to have a life of 20 years to make it economically viable.

As far as oil is concerned a small field, or several small fields worked together, would be a viable proposition. A small oil field of 30 to 50

million barrels, yielding 5 000 barrels per day (one barrel is 160 l) would be viable.

A medium field, by the way, contains something like 100 to 200 000 000 barrels, a large field more than 500 000 000.

One can produce from a small oil field via a floating platform to a tanker and from there to shore. Such a project would cost a few hundred million rand. There are small fields offshore Brazil, Spain, North Africa and the North Sea that are presently being produced in this way. In some cases you can even lease the floating platform, a tanker or tankers and all the other ancillary equipment. You can calculate the production rate beforehand, the cost of hiring equipment and whether or not the operation is profitable. We may well examine this sort of scheme if we found one or more small fields.

We have found oil in small quantities in several places, associated with gas. The one hole yielding about 2 500 barrels per day, has already been mentioned. It may be possible to drill two or three holes with a total production of say 5 000 barrels on this field, and this could well be an economic undertaking.

**Would the fuel produced from gas be competitive with the imported product and with locally produced oil from coal?**

The cheapest fuel to use in this country, is that refined from imported crude oil. The question is whether imported crude oil would always be available to us and what would the Rand price of crude oil be in the future. The second cheapest fuel, would be that generated from natural gas, whilst fuel produced from coal, is the most expensive. That is, of course, if all the plants were built at the same time so that the cost of capital and equipment would be comparable.

**How long would it take between the actual discovery of a deposit and commencement of refining operations?**

Once we have a discovery, we would have to establish the extent of the field. This may take up to two years.

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After that planning, design and construction of plant would take another four to five years.

However, employing a floating platform on a small oil field, one could turn a discovery well into a production well in less than two years. The oil could be refined in an existing refinery.

**South Africa is one of the most self-sufficient countries in the world as far as energy is concerned. In view of this circumstance, is it really necessary to spend all the money on the search for an indigenous oil supply?**

A discovery would, without doubt, be of considerable strategic and financial value. Think of, for instance, the three Sasols and the value they have in giving us the safety of a large indigenous supply of fuel and at the same time saving us foreign exchange, especially at a time when the Rand is weak. To safeguard this position, taking into account the future growth in demand, either Soekor will have to find fairly large oil fields in the not too distant future, or one would have to plan for more synthetic fuel plants at regular intervals in the future.



**Of what benefit would discovery and exploitation of a deposit be to the man in the street? Would he for example, pay less for petrol, diesel oil, natural gas?**

South Africa's fuel prices are governed by the landed cost of imported crude oil and a number of Government levies and taxes. Thus, at present it makes no difference whether the fuel comes from imported crude oil or from Sasol. The same would apply if fuel were to come from Soekor gas. However, if we were to be so fortunate as to become much more, or totally self-sufficient in our liquid fuel requirements, it might leave more room for the Government to manoeuvre with that portion of the fuel price that is added onto the landed-, refining-, and transport costs of fuel.

CSO: 3400/206

SOUTH AFRICA

ELECTRONICS INDUSTRY'S EXPORT POTENTIAL DISCUSSED

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY (Supplement) in English 23 Sep 85 p 5

[Text]

**SOUTH Africa's electronics industry is growing rapidly, but what will it take to develop its export potential? *Business Day* discussed this subject with STC's Keith Crosby, executive director and GM of the telecommunications division, and Mati Avivi, market development executive. The following is a précis of their views:**

THE present economic situation sharpens the focus on SA's ability to export, particularly in the high-tech field. Unlike previous situations, when exporting could have been regarded as a luxury, now it is a necessity.

Traditionally, SA industries — including high technology — have relied more on the licensing of foreign technologies and products for the local market. Although this has contributed significantly to the economy and was supported by government in terms of supplying strategic markets such as Armscor and the Post Office, it created limited export initiatives and tended to discourage new ventures, research and development for export purposes.

Thus, in good times, adopting foreign technologies contributed to the wealth and social stability of the country, in bad times it highlights SA's advanced industry dependence and limitations. The electronics industry, for example, is restricted when it comes to competition in the international market.

Although it is very easy to hook onto excuses of geographical and political isolation, the bare truth is that excuses do not build an industry.

There is power in this country to develop export markets provided it strengthens its R&D capabilities. The first question is export what — not where. In spite of its geographical and political isolation, Israel has found markets. SA can, too.

Perhaps SA should admit that local manufacturing under licence has, in terms of export prospects, been restrictive. Long-term agreements may have narrowed R&D initiatives to the immediate needs of the country and now the need is to ensure the skills and facilities for creating exportable technologies are made available.

In the high-tech field, the concept of small entrepreneur groups backed, but not controlled, by large entities have gained much success in many countries.

The thousands of engineers and technicians in the R4bn SA electronics market can and must be diverted to smaller-scale, short-term, fast-response, export-orientated development.

CSO: 3400/206

SOUTH AFRICA

DECLINE IN FERROCHROME DEMAND FEARED

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY (Supplement) in English 23 Sep 85 p 4

[Article by Anthea Duigan]

[Text]

ONE OF SA's most brilliant export performers is ferro-chrome. The country currently produces about half of the world's consumption, but 1986 could see a decline in world demand, due to a possible reduction in the manufacture of stainless steel worldwide.

There is already evidence of a decline in consumption of stainless steel while there is an oversupply in the world market, which has led to very low prices.

Since the beginning of 1984, virtually all the SA producers have been running at full capacity and an immediate reduction is not anticipated. The result of the rand's recent severe decline has had no effect on exports.

### Impact

Said John Gomersall, Middleburg Steel Alloys MD: "We see some corrective action having to take place on the produc-

tion of stainless steel to restore a greater degree of market balance between supply and demand and that will obviously impact on the demand for ferro-chrome.

"This could represent a 5% to 10% decrease in demand on a worldwide basis for 1986. From that point of view the rand will make SA more competitive.

"Of concern to us in the ferro-chrome business is what we have seen in the past when we have suffered a sudden devaluation of the rand (prior to its being a floating company). These devaluations have always been followed by high inflation on our inputs, particularly electricity, which is the largest single input in the production of ferro-chrome.

He said it does not make sense to stockpile because it puts pressure on prices when there is an oversupply.

The main markets for SA ferro-chrome are Europe, where SA has between 50% and 60% of the market; the US, where SA has about 70%; and Japan, where SA's share is about 50%.

### Quotas

"Because of the quotas and restraintive trade agreements which the US is entering into with a variety of countries, particularly on steel products, we are actually seeing some relocation of stainless steel production from Europe and possibly from Japan to the US. It is therefore conceivable that in 1986 there may be a decline in stainless steel production and hence ferro-chrome demand in Europe and Japan, but a slight growth in the production of stainless steel and demand for ferro-chrome in the US.

"So while there is a currency problem, there is also a relocation taking place," said Gomersall.

SOUTH AFRICA

UNCERTAINTY OF MINERALS EXPORTS REFLECTED

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY (Supplement) in English 23 Sep 85 p 4

[Article by Roy Bennetts]

[Text]

MINERAL exports have the appearance of a roller-coaster, with the volume on the down slope and local revenue from sales climbing to the stars.

Figures released by the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs show that in March the country produced about 56,4 tons of gold, with an export value of R1 043m. By May production had dropped to 51,4 tons but, with the value up to R1 148m.

Over this period the selling price of gold in local terms increased by 6,5% — from R18,5m a ton to R22,2m a ton — while production fell by 8,9%.

The dollar price of the metal varied between \$315 and \$320 an ounce, but with the rand/dollar exchange rate taking a nose-dive, the local value to the producer jumped from R20 000 kg during the first quarter of the year to over R30 000 kg in the third quarter.

Coal, sold as export, began the current year at 3,1-million tons for January, declining to 2,8-million tons in May, with the value of sales dropping from R192m to R175m.

Compared with the first month of 1984, when 2,6-million tons were sold for R109m, and May with 3,1-million tons sold for R138m, there has been a marginal drop in export mass but a 48% gain in the local selling price.

Over the seven years from 1978 to 1984, export tonnages climbed from under 19-million tons a year to just under 40-million tons. Revenue during the same period soared from about R300m to R1 700m.

At the end of last year, gold exports remained firmly in the No 1 spot with revenue of R11 559m, with coal in second place and diamonds adding a further R518m to the coffers.

In the first three months of the current

year gold exports were worth R3 607m, coal R682m and diamonds R175m, with the higher exchange rate still to come.

## Diamonds

A recent De Beers report for the first six months of 1985 showed the diamond account soaring by 53% in rand terms, from R208m to R318m. Unfortunately, the foreign currency earnings were nowhere near as impressive, rising only 4% from \$153m to \$160m.

Gold is believed to have broken away from the historic ups and downs dependent on world situations.

Recent overseas pressure pushed the rand down to an all-time low of \$0,36 but at the same time gold started a climb to nearly \$350.

Since January, chartists have expected an upward trend of the gold

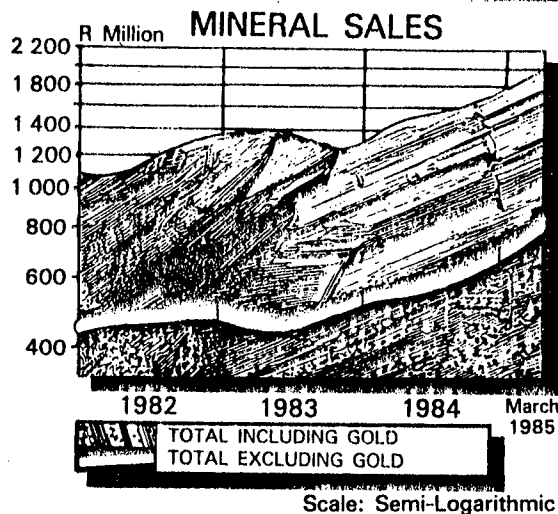
price against the weakening dollar. This did not happen, further strengthening the belief that the metal is no longer the number one means of asset diversification.

Coal began its export climb late in 1983, when SA coal sellers started to invade the traditional Australian hunting grounds of the Pacific rim countries.

This campaign was further assisted by the prolonged strike of New South Wales railways and dockyard workers, leaving many Australian customers without supplies and easy targets for SA suppliers.

Copper sales appear buoyant, with Holcom Commodity Brokers noting that a cluster of bullish newsbreaks fuelled London Metals Exchange copper prices to their highest point during the second quarter in mid-May when values momentarily breached £1 250.

Indications are that copper should experience a steady demand for the remainder of 1985.



## Copper

In the 12 months to December 1984, SA exported 112 156 tons of copper worth R198m. The first three months to March of the current year 37 228 tons worth R88m have been exported.

On an annualised basis this would indicate a 32% increase in volume and a 78% rise in revenue.

Latest figures from the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs show a monthly export volume

of 13 326 tons, worth R31,3m.

Iron ore remains somewhat in the dumps, with 11,9-million tons being sold in 1984 for R241,8m, falling behind schedule to 2,5-million tons worth R66,8m in the first quarter of the current year.

The statistics show a continuation of a decrease in tons sold, to 812 072 tons in one month volume but with revenue, increased by the falling exchange rate, up at R25,9m.

SOUTH AFRICA

EXPORT SALES TO AFRICA INCREASE

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY (Supplement) in English 23 Sep 85 p 1

[Text]

DESPITE the current political climate, exports to the rest of Africa are booming.

In the first half of this year the rand value of these exports was 94,5% up on the first six months of last year at R826,9m. While there is no doubt that a hefty chunk of the increase is merely a reflection of a weaker rand, the SA Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto) reports that sales of goods to neighbouring territories have definitely increased.

Surrounding states have enjoyed reasonably good rainfall, which has boosted both domestic demand and foreign exchange earnings, and they are spending a slice of this money on SA goods. If the trend continues exports to Africa could be as high as R2bn this year.

The increase is heart-

ening as exports had dropped since 1980. Not that African states make any bones about their distaste for dealing with us. Safto manager Jean-Pierre Caffin says all the countries to the north have no diplomatic links and "constantly state their opposition to apartheid. There is no hypocrisy in their trading with SA."

The so-called Frontline states have failed to lessen their dependence on SA, as they are seeking to do through the Southern African Development Coordinating Council (SADCC). The group, formed in 1980, meets regularly to discuss ways of reducing dependence, but it seems the economic powerhouse that is SA so dominates the region that they have little success.

Indeed, despite Premier Robert Mugabe's

call for sanctions, SA remains Zimbabwe's largest trading partner. Members of the SA customs Union — Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho as well as the TBVC countries — are in effect extensions of the SA economy.

Caffin says the countries of Africa need manufactured goods. The only possible constraint on trade is not political but financial. In addition, the logistics of the situation are too hard to ignore. The transport costs involved in buying from SA are minimal relative to the alternative of shipment from overseas.

Trade figures last year show that SA supplies 99% of Lesotho's imports, 91% of Swaziland's and 88% of Botswana's.

Exports to Africa include food, agricultural and mining equipment, chemicals, low techno-

logy tools and basic necessities. And while the market may still be relatively small in overall terms — it accounted for 7% of total non-gold merchandise exports — it is a market that is not dependent on our primary products and thus represents a healthy broadening of our export base.

It is also likely to be the market which has the most long-term growth potential. Indeed, it has become very important to some industries already. Latest figures indicate it accounts for almost half of our machinery exports, around 40% of chemical exports and just over 10% of processed food exports.

Inevitably, the strong reliance of the region on SA's transport infrastructure should prevail above political considerations.

CSO: 3400/206

SOUTH AFRICA

## DURATION OF EXPORT BOOM ANTICIPATED

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY (Supplement) in English 23 Sep 85 p 1

[Article by John Tilston]

[Text]

NOT since the heady days of 1980 when the dollar-price of gold hit record levels have SA's exports performed so well.

In the first seven months of this year SA's total export receipts reached R19,28bn, and some economic forecasters are predicting a continuation of this spectacular performance for at least the next three years.

These figures reflect the situation before political events overtook economic fundamentals in determining the course of the economy. The effect on trade of the debt moratorium and the spreading cancer of limited sanctions against this country may adversely affect export performance.

In recent months there seems to have been a subtle but important psychological change in SA industry. We have adjusted to a lower rand exchange rate and now accept that it will trade at levels appreciably less than parity with the mighty US dollar.

The implication is that, providing the authorities lick inflation, exporters can count on their products remaining competitive in foreign markets. The switch to permanence in export markets, rather than temporary raids when the domestic economy is in recession, has important long-term implications for the SA economy.

For many years gold has accounted for half SA's export receipts. Such exports are never clearly identified statistically. Last year our mines produced 683 tons (out of 1 440 tons produced in the rest of the world). The marketing of gold bullion is carried out by the Reserve Bank which keeps a tight lid on its activities. However, customs lumps gold export receipts together with other semi-secret items — such as uranium — in a category entitled "other unclassified goods and balance of payments adjustments". In the first six months of this year this category recorded export receipts of

R7,13bn, 43% of total exports of R16,45bn.

However, riding on the back of a weak rand most other varieties of SA's exports are doing well. Coal, steel, ferro-alloys, platinum, manganese and lead concentrates have been scoring in foreign markets. Manufactured goods also showed strong gains, especially machinery and components.

The agricultural sector's contribution to the balance of payments is as yet unclear. Summer crop estimates are still coming in, but at this stage it seems we may have around 1-million tons of maize to export this year, a welcome change from the previous two years when dry weather forced substantial

imports. There should also be worthwhile contributions from wool and citrus.

It is not just the rand value of exports that has been booming. Volumes were up by around 24% in the first six months of the year. However, with some overseas economies under pressure and likely to show reduced growth in the second half of the year, the Reserve Bank is predicting an overall increase in the volume of exports of 15% for the year.

### Sanctions

In the first half of the year exports to most regions improved. We exported products worth R4,2bn to Europe (28% up from the corresponding period last year), 2,5bn to Asia (43% up), to R1,6bn

to America (43% up), to R827 million to Africa (a massive 95% up) and R95 million to Oceania (a marginal increase of 3%).

Since then France and the US have imposed limited sanctions on SA. There has also been talk of some form of sanctions from Australia. Coupled with the bad publicity that SA is getting abroad these actions could spell trouble for clearly identified SA goods. Our raw materials, though, should remain unaffected.

The severe hiccup in the flow of trade finance caused by the imposition of the debt moratorium, appears to be safely in the past now. But it is likely that anyone having financial dealings with SA in the short term will at least pause to consider the risk.

CSD: 3400/206



SOUTH AFRICA

DEMAND FOR ENGINEERING PRODUCTS NOTED

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY (Supplement) in English 23 Sep 85 p 12

[Article by Heath Young]

[Text]

ENGINEERING products, especially those destined for the mining sector, are in high demand overseas, according to John Bell, head of export consultancy Breyer Development Services. Bell spends much of his time travelling abroad setting up trade deals.

"Products which have been developed here for local conditions, and especially those which require little maintenance, are accepted in developing countries and others like Australia and Canada," he said.

"Demand is rapidly increasing in certain areas, such as the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries of Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, Philippines and Brunei. These countries have high, project-related growth."

South America is another area of rising demand though some countries — notably Bolivia and Peru — are virtually bankrupt despite having high potential, and arranging payment is diffi-

cult. Chile is a particularly promising market because of its high level of spending on mining development, and it is set to replace Brazil as SA's major trading partner in Latin America by end-85, he said.

Argentina, which has excellent long-term mining prospects, is already a profitable market for a number of local exporters.

Electrical goods find a ready market in many parts of the world. Not only are they technically compatible with Asian trading partners, for instance, but the price is right.

The potential here runs the gamut of generation, transmission and reticulation equipment through to high quality domestic appliances — SA cannot compete in the low end of the market with Taiwan, and should not try, said Bell.

SA is also exporting white goods, which are competitive in many markets with those of traditional suppliers such as Italy.

Other products which

have important export potential, said Bell, include highly sophisticated engineering products, motor parts and accessories, semi-converted steel products such as wire, and consumer products such as clothing and footwear.

Europe and the US, while being major importers of SA primary products, are not such good markets for engineering products, he said.

"The developed economies tend to make use of highly specialised equipment requiring regular maintenance, rather than the more rugged equipment SA has developed."

Bell is enthusiastic about export prospects but said a more professional approach to exporting is needed.

"South African exporters need to improve their own image. Many are prepared to export when the local market is in a slump, but when it picks up again they pull out with little or no warning. This has given SA exporters a bad name overseas," he said.

SOUTH AFRICA

EXPORT GROWTH THREATENED BY HOSTILITY TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY (Supplement) in English 23 Sep 85 pp 1, 10

[Article by Matthew White]

[Text]

DESPITE statistics which show an excellent current export performance, international hostility towards South Africa, engendered by apartheid, is exerting a strong negative influence and imperils future growth.

Wim Holtes, chief executive of the SA Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto) told *Business Day* that an increasing number of the its members are reporting the cancellation of contracts.

"In some cases, trade unions are making it difficult for overseas buyers. We expect cancellations to increase in the immediate future," he said.

Heinz Bauer, manager of international trade development at UAL Merchant Bank, told *Business Day* on his return from a recent visit to the Far East and Australia: "The pressure on international business not to trade with South Africa is intense."

He urges exporters to adopt a different approach to get around boycotts (see report on page 8).

Expectation is now widespread that the effects of strong anti-SA feeling will make an increasing impact and that, where importers can buy comparative products elsewhere at little or no premium, SA will receive least-favoured-nation treatment.

In the light of this, people involved in foreign trade see the need for a long-term strategy to counter the tide of animosity.

Firstly, South African exporters must start building a reputation as reliable suppliers of high-quality, competitive goods and services.

Said Holtes: "In the longer term, perhaps better price will speak for itself."

Indeed, most observers agree that if SA can consistently deliver goods of the right quality and price, this is likely to outweigh all other considerations. In this regard, the imposition of limited sanctions is seen by many to be more bark than bite.

According to export consultant John Bell of Breyer Development Services, sanctions are unlikely to have a serious effect on exports of high quality goods.

"A great deal of our business lies with countries that don't officially trade with SA. For example, my company has just been involved in a major contract for military equipment with an Asian country," he said.

On a strategy level he believes SA has the labour, raw materials and a favourable currency situation from which to export and it doesn't need further assistance from government. Rather, he suggests government "should keep a low profile".

There appears to be a high degree of unanimity on this point, with few people seeing government as an asset in the drive to develop markets. It is feared any up-front effort to promote South Africa on an official level might well prove counter-productive.

The image of SA business abroad is generally far better than that of government and it is felt exporters should build on this advantage.

Despite protests that, for most businessmen, trade comes before politics, it is a mistake to suppose that, generally, their consciences are more atrophied than those of other groups, or that they are interested only in profits.

Further, overseas companies are under greater pressure to act fairly than at any time in history; public scrutiny is intense and public companies especially are prone to bitter criticism from disaffected and activist minority shareholders who place social and political issues above profit-making.

Cognisance of these facts is seen as essential in taking action to negate the impression that buying South African goods creates profits for rich whites from the suffering of poor blacks, and that it is immoral to share the benefits of oppression.

Clearly, restoration of the country's image depends largely on political developments over which individual exporters have little influence. But promotion on a personal level that stresses not

only the quality and price of the goods offered but the direct benefits to black employees and their families, and the exporter's own commitment to justice and fair employment practices, could go a long way to satisfy most buyers that in dealing with SA they can contribute to the creation of a more just and humane society.

It is not far-fetched to see an acceptable code of employment practice — such as the Sullivan Principles embraced by most US investor companies in SA — as a positive aid to export sales. A tag, "Made in accordance with the Sullivan Principles", might do as much for export goods as "Free from artificial preservatives" is doing for foodstuffs and "Guaranteed not to shrink" did for fabrics before the era of synthetic fibres.

Holtes agrees that SA needs to change its image, but says it must also do more in conventional areas.

"For instance, SA participates in only 13 foreign trade fairs, whereas Taiwan takes part in about 100. Trade fairs offer a valuable showcase for SA goods and services and we are not making nearly enough use of them."

He recommends that the Department of Trade and Industry (T&I) be given a much larger budget for export promotion, which has been made more urgent by the present difficult climate for trade.

Despite the difficulties, he still sees significant opportunities for South African exporters.

"We have the infrastructure, the management skills, the production capacity and the raw materials to increase penetration of international markets," he said.

"Primary producers have done very well, as have the first downstream phase — the producers of ferro alloys, steel cable, machined sections etc. Now there needs to be a greater concentration on exports from the secondary manufacturing sector, high-tech and services."

He points to "remarkable individual achievements", including the machinery and transport equipment sector, which experienced a 65% growth in the first seven months of this year.

Holtes feels strongly that more use must be made of countertrade, the linking of export and purchasing transactions.

SA has been slow to be-

come involved with countertrade and missed opportunities that arose during its massive capital import programmes of the Sixties and Seventies. Such capital imports, involving billions of rands, are now regarded by trade specialists as prime opportunities for export leverage.

While exporting is easier for larger companies because of their greater resources, small ones can contribute. About 70 small companies have become exporters though Safto's Small Business Scheme, which is backed by funding from T&I and loan finance from the Small Business Development Corporation.

There is one point on which virtually everyone approached by *Business Day* to participate in this survey agreed: exporting requires commitment.

Too often in the past, they said, SA suppliers have seen the export market as a convenient outlet in times of recession and, when the good times returned, they forgot about overseas customers and left them, and their agents, high and dry.

Now, more than ever, SA needs to earn the respect of its trading partners by proving a reliable supplier of quality and value.

SOUTH AFRICA

UAL OFFICIAL BELIEVES BOYCOTT CAN BE BEATEN

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY (Supplement) in English 23 Sep 85 p 8

[Text]

WHILE South African goods have long been welcome in many foreign markets, the point is fast being reached where, no matter what the value of the rand and consequently how cheap our exports appear to be, some countries or companies do not want to trade with SA.

Even in countries where there is no official trade ban against South Africa, exporters are finding it difficult to trade, for instance, in "soft" boycott countries where an exporter is not officially prevented from selling his lollipops or motor spares.

Heinz Baur, manager of international trade development at UAL Merchant Bank, who has just returned from an extensive visit to the Far East and Australia, found that among some importers

South Africa has become *persona non grata* in international trade terms.

"There is no doubt SA is definitely out of favour, but exporters should not become too despondent," he said.

"The pressure is on not to trade with South Africa, so exporters should adopt a different approach.

"Naturally, one cannot give away one's trade secrets and each case requires different treatment, but certain approaches have been found to succeed.

"Over the years, UAL has built up a great deal of experience in foreign markets and has the expertise to cut through the red tape and identify risks. We have also developed skills in penetrating previously impenetrable trade barriers."

CSO: 3400/206

SOUTH AFRICA

# CHARCOAL PLANT AT MOUNT COKE

East London DAILY DISPATCH in English 20 Sep 85 p 5

[Text]

BISHO — A charcoal manufacturing plant was being established at Needs Camp near Mount Coke, Mr J. P. Maritz, one of the directors of Carbon Enterprises, confirmed yesterday.

He said he hoped that production would begin at the beginning of next month.

At present the firm was busy setting up the plant.

He said charcoal manufactured at the plant was for export purposes.

Labour employed came from the immediate vicinity. At present 30 people were employed but would be in-

creased as soon as production began.

Mr Maritz said he was convinced that he and his two co-directors, Mr Karl Klöpfer and Mr C. Saunders, had embarked on a viable proposition. They had studied the market and the product with the CSIR for two years.

Timber would be obtained from the farm on which the plant would be established, the East London state coast forest as well as from the Kidd's Beach area.

He said he believed it would be the first plant of its kind in the Border region.

CSO: 3400/188

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

EXPORT MARKETS--Plastics manufacturers must band together to develop export markets, says Plastics Federation director Bill Naude. "Apart from a small number of companies that have been exporting successfully over the years, the industry has not been very active in the export market. "Obviously, the weak rand gives added impetus to exporting, but we have still some groundwork to complete before we can start exporting effectively on a large scale." Naude says plastics manufacturers in SA are operating at around 70% utilisation of capacity. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 8 Oct 85 p 3]

WHEAT PURCHASES--South Africa may have to spend up to R5m next year on imported wheat to supplement the local drought damaged crop. In Pretoria yesterday Wheat Board GM Dennis van Aarde said the last official estimate was made at the end of August--2 029 500 tons. However, since then the Free State crop--it produces more than half the annual harvest in a normal year--had suffered heavy damage. In August the Department of Agriculture estimated the province would produce just over 700 000 tons. Van Aarde estimates it could now be as much as 200 000 tons less. "The probability is, therefore, that the total crop will be around 1,85 million tons--about 300 000 tons less than we need. "Even with a two month carry-over, the board was faced with the possibility of having to import up to 150 000 tons." It was sad, Van Aarde said, that, at a time when wheat prices were abnormally low on world markets, the value of the rand was still deeply depressed. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 8 Oct 85 p 5]

CONTAINER RATES--Exporters to the Far East are about to be hit with an average 12% increase in container cargo rates. Eight shipping lines--both Conference and independent--have agreed to increase eastbound freight rates on container cargo by \$100 a container from January 1. The increase applies to the twenty-foot equivalent unit (TEU) size. The lines--Safmarine, Nedlloyd, Gold Star, K Line, Maersk, Mitsui OSK, Nantai and NYK--blame heavy exports and low imports for the rate increase. In a joint statement yesterday, they said: "The continuing buoyancy of exports to Japan and the Far East coupled with depressed import volumes being experienced on the trade, has forced lines operating the route to reposition container equipment to cater for exporters' needs. "This has caused the unprecedented action of both Conference and independent operators jointly increasing outbound rates in an effort to recoup some of the substantial cost burden facing the lines." The

last general rate increase was in January. Although the latest increase applies to eastbound cargoes only, the shipping lines are also examining rate increases for westbound cargoes to SA. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 4 Oct 85 p 3]

BARCLAYS' GLOOMY FORECAST--South Africa's current economic recession will not reach its trough until at least the last quarter of this year, Barclays National Bank Ltd said. It said in its monthly report that long awaited relief from recessionary conditions had failed to materialise, and the exchange rate crisis had depressed sentiment still further. "This lack of both foreign and domestic confidence will impact severely on the South African economy in the year ahead. In addition, an equally severe adverse real income is likely to result in only moderate growth next year," it said. Barclays National Bank said it anticipated a gross domestic product (GDP) growth in 1986 of 3,2 percent, against an estimated 2,0 percent fall this year and 4,7 percent growth in 1984. But the report said the decline in interest rates which had been allowed to continue despite the drastic fall in the exchange rate is expected to continue well into, if not throughout, 1986.--Reuter [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 14 Oct 85 p 18]

CRUISE CANCELLED--Continuing economic and political uncertainty has resulted in the cancellation of the "Constellation's" South African cruise programme 1985/86 by its owners, "K" Lines--Hellenic Greece. This cancellation has been confirmed by "K" Lines' South African general sales agents, Cruise Lines. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 16 Oct 85 p 25]

USCO CASTS TURBINE CASING--The Usco foundry has recently cast two halves of a high-technology electricity-generating turbine casing. The casing, which is an intermediate pressure outer casing, is for one of six 672-MW generators which are being built at the new Kendal Power Station in the Eastern Transvaal. The top and bottom halves, with a net cast mass of 34 t and 35 t respectively, are part of the foundry's program for the production of heavier and more sophisticated castings. The order was placed on Usco by Kraftwerk Union Aktiengesellschaft (KWU) of Mulheim, West Germany which is a subsidiary of Siemens. Kraftwerk Union has built fossil-fueled and nuclear-powered generators in many countries around the world. While Kraftwerk Union is not a newcomer to the power generation field in South Africa, the Usco foundry is the first to be chosen for its first locally-produced turbine casing. [Text] [Johannesburg ENGINEERING WEEK in English 26 Sep 85 p 12]

CORE SAMPLES RETRIEVED--A winch capable of retrieving core samples in ultra-deep-level exploratory drilling operations has been designed and manufactured by a local company. It is claimed to be a solution to the complex hydraulics-engineering problems. Available commercially, the 5 000 m wire-line winch features an ingenious rope spooling system which not only ensures even coiling of the 5 km of 10 mm wire line with which it is fitted, but prolongs rope life at the same time. The winch has a built-in, fail-safe hydraulic system and a depth indicator, and the 127 kW motor has a lifting capacity of 1,5 t at a depth of 5 000 m. The company is also manufacturing a 3 000 m model. [Text] [Johannesburg ENGINEERING WEEK in English 26 Sep 85 p 30]

8 November 1985

LOCAL PRODUCTION--Randburg-based Industrial Heat Engineering has a manufacturing agreement with LOI of West Germany and Sunbeam of the USA for the local manufacture of a full range of heat-treatment furnaces. It will be accenting its whole range of locally produced furnaces used for tempering, hardening and annealing...including specially controlled atmosphere furnaces. Its range of dust control equipment manufactured under licence from Keller of West Germany will also be featured. [Text] [Johannesburg ENGINEERING WEEK in English 26 Sep 85 p 10]

IMPORTED RAW MATERIALS--Cumar, a member of the Murray & Roberts Industrial Group, is a supplier of high-performance refractories and insulation materials and will emphasise two product areas locally manufactured from imported raw materials. They are: Fibermax high-temperature ceramic fibre modules for use in high-temperature furnace and insulation applications; and Fiberfrax non-asbestos textiles. The non-asbestos textiles are a replacement for conventional asbestos textiles, which have been proved detrimental to health. [Text] [Johannesburg ENGINEERING WEEK in English 26 Sep 85 p 8]

LARGEST SA FURNACE--Heating and melting equipment supplier Reef Furnades has completed the rebuilding of a large induction coil which is part of the largest coreless induction furnace operating in South Africa. The induction coil of a 45-ton Junker shortcoil induction-holding furnace was damaged by heavy jackhammers during breakout of the lining. On previous occasions, these damaged coils were put into large crates and shipped to Germany for repair. This procedure was costly and the spare coil was out of the country for about five months. To provide a better customer service, Reef furnaces and their overseas principals Junker decided to invest in special equipment and training of South African personnel for the repair of this kind of equipment. The application of Junker's latest insulation techniques, using modern epoxy resins, is claimed to result in reduction of vibration of the coils and eliminates problems with moisture causing tripping of the earth leakage protection device, which has reportedly made improvements to the performance and reliability of all makes of repaired furnace coils. To use its equipment and staff the company is also repairing other makes of induction furnace coils used here. In its Wadeville Workshops, work is now in progress to repair a coil set which is part of the most powerful coreless induction furnaces in South Africa, one of two Junker melting furnaces in a Newcastle foundry. [Text] [Johannesburg ENGINEERING WEEK in English 26 Sep 85 p 12]

'MENACE' PRODUCED--L. H. Power Engineers specialises in the investigation of applications, the assessment of potential savings and the eventual design of induction heating equipment. Its stand will feature the 100-kW "Menace" which has been designed, developed and manufactured in South Africa with a 90% local content. This small, versatile unit is said to be very competitively priced and can be used for forging, heat treatment and melting. Operating cost advantages include: energy being used only while the work piece is actually being heated. [Text] [Johannesburg ENGINEERING WEEK in English 26 Sep 85 p 9]



MORE WORK FOR BIGGER FOUNDRY--APE Africa's recently-expanded foundry at its Wadeville works is being put to good use with a variety of new order intakes. The foundry was extended recently with the addition of a new oxygen-enriched rotary furnace. The furnace is producing meehanite for APE's own range of pumps made under names such as APE Sangus, Ritz, Allen Gwynnes and Byron Jackson. New order intakes have meant a diversification of production at the foundry into components for new ranges of pumps and into forklift counterweights. The counterweights are being produced as part of a local-content programme for Mitsubishi forklift trucks. APE inherited the Mitsubishi franchise when it absorbed Thomas & Taylor in January, both companies being part of NEI Africa. Other new product lines at the foundry are parts for Vacseal slurry pumps and the Stork range of pumps. These components were previously manufactured by Air Steel International--APE recently acquired the interests of Air Steel International in Cape Town, distributors of the Stork range of Holland. [Text] [Johannesburg ENGINEERING WEEK in English 26 Sep 85 p 12]

STOP SENSELESS KILLING--The annual congress of the Inkatha Women's Brigade held in the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi has called on the United Democratic Front [UNDF] to order a stop to the senseless killing of black by black in black towns. In a six-part resolution [on] current violence the brigade also appealed to the SDF to stop tolerating in its midst those who are busy sowing seeds of a black versus black civil war and these elements which burned people alive and hacked people to death. Other sections of the resolution condemned the Black Sash and Diakonia for the divisive attitudes sometimes displayed when they claimed Inkatha was responsible for conflict leading to black "internicene" strife, expressed disgust at black organizations which became diverted from attacking the country's internal policies and turned their energies to promoting conflict between blacks. It called on the media to stop misrepresenting Inkatha and vilifying its president, Chief Magosuthu Buthelezi, and called on the ANC mission in exile to stop using children as its pawns in games of violence. [Text] [Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 21 Oct 85 MB]

UNREST EQUIPMENT ARRIVES--Cape Town, 21 October (SAPA)--New equipment to combat unrest has arrived in the Cape Peninsula, police said today. Lt Attie Laubscher, a police liaison officer, said the equipment would be put into use immediately. Included are a helicopter, two casspirs with guns that shoot rubber bullets in rapid-fire, and a water cannon. The new equipment is being deployed in the wake of widespread allegations of police heavy-handedness in dealing with unrest and the large number of deaths as a result of police action. Until now police have requested the assistance of SADF helicopters for a birds-eye view of unrest areas or to hunt wanted people in bushy areas. The minister of law and order, Mr Louis le Grange, announced the purchase of the helicopter and development of the water cannon some months ago and the commissioner of police, Gen Johan Coetzee, said recently the water cannon was undergoing final demonstrations. It is the first time mention has been made of casspirs able to shoot rubber bullets in rapid fire. [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 0920 GMT 21 Oct 85 MB]

BLACK POLICE FORCE FUNDS--Nearly 25 million rands has been allocated to black local authorities for the formation of their own municipal police forces. The amount of the fund has been announced by the minister of constitutional development and planning, Chris Heunis, at a passing-out parade for municipal police near Zeerust. Mr Heunis has warned the newly trained police that they will probably become symbolic targets in the violence in the townships. The municipal police are being trained to fulfill what he called a supplementary role to the South African Police. [Text] [Umtata Capital Radio in English 1400 GMT 18 Oct 85 MB]

AWB CHIEF HECKLED--Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'blanche addressed a lively audience of about 1 000 in the Stellenbosch Town Hall on Wednesday night, fewer than half of them AWB supporters. Hundreds of Stellenbosch University students dressed in velskoene and "Boer" hats, swamped the meeting and heckled the speaker. Terre'blanche slated the tricameral parliament, declaring it against God's will to share power with "Mohammedans and Hindus." He called for the reestablishment of the old Boer Republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State.--Sapa [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 4 Oct 85 p 4]

ANC REJECTS NEW BOTHA OFFER--The African National Congress totally rejected in a statement on October 1 the suggestion put forward by President Pieter Botha the day before that blacks should be given a place on the advisory President's Council which has the role of suggesting solutions to problems on which the three-chamber parliament cannot agree. Mr Botha also said he was in favour of a "united South Africa and a universal franchise" but he ruled out a system of "one man, one vote" and indicated that the country's racial group structure would be maintained in the form of a type of federation based on racial and geographic lines. Washington welcomed President Botha's latest proposals, but even so President Ronald Reagan announced the same day that the import of South African Krugerrands into the United States would be banned from October 11. For its part, the British government finally decided to go along with the limited sanctions adopted by the nine other countries of the European Economic Community against South Africa and announced it was withdrawing its two military attaches from its embassy in Pretoria. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 5 Oct 85 p 5]

CSO: 3400/188

SWAZILAND

BBC INTERVIEWS SWAZI OPPOSITION GROUP LEADER

MB111816 London BBC World Service in English 1709 GMT 11 Oct 85

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] There is continuing political uncertainty in Swaziland that has been suffering upheaval since the death of King Sobhuza in 1982. Last week, two members of what the opposition has described as a gang of four were sacked from the Supreme Council of State, the Liqoqo. They were Prince Mfanasibili and George Msibi. The gang of four has been accused of corruption and of usurping power, tradition, and the constitution by replacing Queen Regent Dzeliwe with Queen Regent Ntombi. Well, last year in London, self-exiled Prince Dumisa Dlamini founded the Swaziland Liberation Movement. One of his aims was to get rid of the gang of four. Julian Marshall asked Prince Dumisa if he would not disband the movement following last week's sackings.

[Begin recording] [Dlamini] No, we wouldn't say that. What we would say is that part of our goals have been achieved but, of course, there are still a lot of things to be done, for instance, the release of political prisoners has not been achieved. We don't understand why these people continue to be detained without trial. The achievement of Swazi democracy, one man, one vote for the people, has not been achieved and so we wouldn't say, really, that we will disband the organization instantly.

[Marshall] Now, the two other members of what you describe as the gang of four: Mr Robert Mabila and Mr Patel, they haven't been mentioned recently. What is your information as to what has happened to them?

[Dlamini] My information is that Mr Mabila actually was ready, wanting to resign. I am sure he will automatically go with the firing of these two. Mr Patel is behind bars. He has been arrested for attempting to subvert the institutions of the country, and he has been given an option to choose a country where he wishes to be deported.

[Marshall] Now, given that these four men were so powerful in your estimation and were running Swaziland, who then has engineered their departure from the political scene? How has it come about?

[Dlamini] The good counsel from the royal family, a broad spectrum of the royal family, prevailed over Queen Regent Ntombi to suggest that so long as these people are in the Liqoqo, the country is not going to be alright.

[Marshall] Do you think that these changes have had anything to do with the recent return to Swaziland of the crown prince, Makhosetive?

[Dlamini] Well, in the first place, until Crown Prince Makhosetive has been made king, he is not quoted directly. My information is that he wishes to see Queen Regent Dzeliwe reinstated because in fact that is tradition and these people had violated tradition, and he was surprised himself to hear that the queen regent had been fired. It has never been done in Swaziland before, simply because she wanted to expel Prince Mfanasibili and George Msibi from the Liqoqo. Prince Makhosetive was himself not impressed and he would like to see Queen Regent Dzeliwe reinstated according to tradition because so long as that has not been done, his own kingship is meaningless because it will be standing on ashes, really, which have been created by the gang of four.

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CSO: 3400/224

SWAZILAND

PAPER EXPLAINS LOSS OF POWER OF LIQOQO

MB120923 Mbabane THE SWAZI NEWS in English 12 Oct 85 pp 1, 7

[Text] The Ligoqo has lost its supreme powers which it has enjoyed since its inception in 1982, it was announced in the government gazette released yesterday.

The Ligoqo has also lost the powers of appointing a person who would be empowered to perform the regent's functions and duties in the event of Her Majesty's being unable to perform those functions.

The new government gazette also makes no reference to the office of the "authorised person," and it can be construed that it has been abolished.

The changed clause reads: "If the regent is for any reason unable to perform the functions of her office a person shall be appointed in accordance with Swazi law and custom to perform her function during such inability."

In the 1982 decree the clause reads: "The king, or in the absence of a king, the Ligoqo may at anytime appoint, in accordance with Swazi law and custom, a person (hereinafter referred to as the authorised person) to perform on behalf of the regent and the functions of her office if the regent is for any reason unable to perform those functions."

And the new definition of Ligoqo is stated as follows: "Ligoqo means a council whose function is to advise the king and which shall consist of members appointed by the king to hold office at his pleasure in accordance with such terms and conditions (including emoluments and allowances) as he may determine."

In the 1982 decree the clause reads: "Ligoqo means the Supreme Council of State whose function is to advise the king on all matters of state and which shall consist of members appointed by the king to hold office of his pleasure and in accordance with such terms and conditions (including emoluments and allowances) as he may determine."

The government gazette extraordinary is dated 11 October 1985.

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CSO: 3400/223

ZAIRE

BRIEFS

MILITARY COOPERATION ACCORD WITH FRANCE--In Kinshasa last Saturday Zaire and France signed an agreement on military cooperation. It will enable Zaire to organize courses on a regular basis for nationals of Francophone African countries linked to France by cooperation agreements. These inter-African courses are intended to train officers and NCOs of the armored division with the participation of French military cooperation. Fourteen African countries are said to have already expressed their interests in these courses. [Text] [Paris International Service in French 1245 GMT 4 Oct 85 LD]

CSO: 3519/006

ZIMBABWE

U.S. SEEN AS COMMITTING TERRORISM IN 'HIJACKING' PLANE

MB181501 Harare THE HERALD in English 14 Oct 85

[Editorial: "Highjacked Highjack"]

[Text] Like its protege, the Zionist state, the Reagan administration is apparently not keen on finding a peaceful solution to the Middle East problems.

One would have thought the fact that the Palestine Liberation Organisation had intervened to ensure a peaceful ending to the hijacking of the Italian cruise liner would have been enough to introduce an agreeable element leading to the de-escalation of the destabilising violence in the region.

But by itself hijacking the Egyptian plane carrying the hijackers of the Italian cruise liner, the United States has committed an act of the very terrorism that it has always denounced.

Two wrongs do not make a right. If the United States enters the hijacking business the only result is that such acts will escalate and the United States will end up the loser.

We say this because there are others involved in this game, particularly in the Middle East, who think they are answerable to no one but their gods.

These fanatics have nothing to lose and to them the U.S. military or nuclear might are paper tigers.

The suicidal bombing which led to the death of hundred of U.S. Marines, French and Israelis in Lebanon and elsewhere in the Middle East is a case in point.

Following those events the U.S. Government had to pull out its soldiers from the area, to save innocent lives.

That was a wise move. Yet last week the United States decided to set aside that wisdom and we wonder why.

It would have been absolutely naive to believe that the attempt to kill the entire leadership of the PLO in Tunisia would have gone without repercussions.

The PLO charged that the Israelis carried out that terrorist blitzkrieg with active U.S. assistance.

Whether or not that conclusion was valid, the fact remains that the United States failed to condemn Israel at the United Nations for having entered the airspace of Tunisia, a non-aligned country generally well disposed towards the United States and then carried out the murderous attack.

We charged then that by attacking the PLO headquarters in Tunisia the Israelis were attempting to destroy the peace initiative spearheaded by Cde Yassir 'Arafat and King Husayn of Jordan.

We believe the U.S. interception last week of the Egyptian airliner carrying the four Palestinian hijackers was in pursuance of the same goal.

If the PLO had disciplined its own militants for attacking unauthorised targets that would have undermined the efforts in Tel Aviv and Washington to paint the PLO as a terrorist and irresponsible organisation unworthy of recognition.

To prevent that the United States has even sacrificed its friendship with Egypt without thinking twice.

Some might ask: Does that concern us? Yes it does. The United States supports the apartheid regime in Southern Africa which behaves towards the African people at home and abroad like the Israeli Government behaves towards the Palestinians and the Arabs in general.

For that reason, we are in it up to our necks.

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CSO: 3400/224



ZIMBABWE

SMITH'S REMARKS IN BBC INTERVIEW CONSIDERED TREASONABLE

MB181505 Harare THE HERALD in English 12 Oct 85 p 4

[Editorial: "Racial Spite"]

[Text] If the political sentiments now and again expressed by Mr Ian Smith merely reflected his own twisted reasoning, one would simply raise an eyebrow, observing that "the village madman is at it again" and then leave it at that.

But this is not the case, because the political views of the former rebel prime minister which reek of facial spite, represents a pattern of thinking which justified white minority rule in this country and was responsible for the death of thousands of Zimbabweans.

His beliefs are the sum total of a world outlook which provided the foundations for the philosophy of colonialism and capitalist imperialism, which impelled Britain and other Western countries to seize foreign lands, dispossessing whole nations in the name of so-called Western civilisation.

It is that way of thinking which created the South African drama, whose full tragic dimensions on a continental if not world scale, are yet to unfold in the course of the struggle to overthrow the apartheid regime.

In short Smith's thinking is the essence of colonialism which was an act of banditry seeking no other goal but the illicit amassing of wealth through unbridled exploitation of millions for the benefit of a few.

Against the background of the massive support the conservative alliance received from the white voters during the election, Smith's recent utterances represent an ideological challenge to the people of this country and are a monumental insult to the memory of those who died in the struggle to overthrow his racist, colonial white minority regime.

Had it not been for the Lancaster House constitutional talks and all the limitations they imposed, Smith would deservedly have been tried for inhuman crimes against the people of Zimbabwe.

As it is, not only has Smith spurned the hand of reconciliation, he now cynically claims that for the past 5 years only the whites have observed the dictates of reconciliation, while the government has not.

Since his claims are mere slander and the rantings of an ingrate, we must sincerely state that while reconciliation is a plausible police, it would be the height of folly to make it an absolute principle to be applied in all cases of conflict or dissension.

Smith's outbursts should be regarded as a hostile act bordering on treason.

We know that anti-communism to which Smith gives full reign is the religion of the bourgeoisie in defence of a system which allows the exploitation of man by man.

Yet the people must be avenged. This will not be done by hanging Smith and his followers, but by implementing with relentless vigour the principles of socialism and destroying in the process the capitalist paradise for whose defense Smith and his supporters mercilessly murdered thousands of patriotic Zimbabweans.

His comments on Zimbabwe today indicate just how out of touch with reality Mr Smith is. Zimbabweans are aware of it. And so are informed Britons.

But it is certain that he will have left a good many British viewers a very jaundiced view of Zimbabwe. This is always a danger when one-time leaders continue to live in the past hankering after long-lost glories that were only theirs.

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CSO: 3400/224

ZIMBABWE

RADIO TRUTH COMMENTS ON SMITH'S REMARKS ON BBC

MB151050 (Clandestine) Radio Truth in English to Zimbabwe 0430 GMT 15 Oct 85

[Station commentary]

[Text] As was to be expected Ian Smith's remarks during the BBC television interview have aroused strong protest and some ill-advised comment from our minister of information. We are always wary of dealing with selective press reports on speeches and interviews. So often words are taken out of context. However, if Mr Smith has been correctly reported, some of his observations were injudicious and were not in the best interests of harmony and reconciliation. At the same time, to refer to the interview as a hostile act bordering on treason is an overreaction and an exaggeration of its import.

The Conservative Alliance of Zimbabwe [CAZ] leader was being questioned by a team of Scottish school children, and one must realize that the debate was conducted at that level. The offending remarks were alleged to be in reference to Zimbabwe's black population. These were the words said to have been uttered: "The majority of them have never had any schooling; never had any education. They can neither read nor write. They don't understand the political system that we foisted on them."

We are not at all sure whether Mr Smith was referring to the Unilateral Declaration of Independence, UDI, era or to the present day. If it was the former, then it was in part an indictment of his own government. Nevertheless, at the height of the war here from 1972 to 1980, many children were denied educational opportunities through the activities of ZANLA and ZIPRA. Young boys and girls were abducted or recruited into the guerrilla forces, or were compelled to sacrifice their schooling to act as mujibas [look-out scouts for the guerrilla forces]. In other cases, teachers and pupils were intimidated to abandon the classroom. Many schools were destroyed by the liberators. How many adults of today owe their illiteracy to Comrade Mugabe and his senior colleagues?

In the last 5 years, of course, tremendous strides have been made to remedy the situation, and in terms of quantity, all children are receiving an education. The quality of that education is another matter, as we have observed before. The public examination results alone tell their own story. On the government's own admission, we do have an adult illiteracy problem, which is why a special program has been introduced to correct the situation of the time.

There is some truth in the allegation that the Western parliamentary system is not fully understood by all the citizens of this country. But, that is to be expected as their experience of it is relatively short in historical terms.

It is also true to say that those who died in the war of independence did not sacrifice their lives to preserve white rule. In the latter stages, for example, black rule had already been conceded. It was a battle between democracy and Marxism, and democracy was the sacrificial lamb at the final conference table.

However, whatever the rights and wrongs of this latest episode, some things are better left unsaid in the interest of racial harmony and tolerance.

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CSO: 3400/224

ZIMBABWE

# WOMEN SPIES HELPED GANG ATTACK ARMY BASE

Harare THE HERALD in English 11 Oct 85 p 1

[Text]

## BULAWAYO.

TWO women who helped their dissident boyfriends to attack an army base at Makaza, Tsholotsho, were yesterday convicted of assisting, harbouring and failing to report the presence of dissidents.

Janet Tshuma (23) and Sibongile Nkomo (21) pleaded guilty before regional magistrate Mr Phillip Finch.

The two are married.

Evidence was that in June five armed bandits arrived at Mamima Village, Tsholotsho. Tshuma and Nkomo gave the bandits food, water to bath and blankets. They spent the night in the bush with them.

The two also slept with members of the paramilitary force based at Makaza.

On July 22 the same five dissidents went to the homes of the two women and were fed and given blankets.

Before leaving the following day the women were assigned to visit their boyfriends at Makaza base and check on the number of paramilitary force members.

The dissidents also asked to find out how the paramilitary members were based, and to report back.

On July 24 Tshuma and Nkomo went to Makaza base, talked to their boyfriends and left without saying anything about the bandits.

On their way home the women met 12 heavily armed dissidents, who included the five who had assigned them to spy on Makaza base.

Tshuma and Nkomo briefed the bandits about their findings. That night the women led the gang to Makaza base. The dissidents opened fire on the soldiers and District Development Fund employees who were having their supper.

After 30 minutes the dissidents advanced into the base and stole five rifles, a radio and an army kit. Tshuma and Nkomo helped them carry the loot through the bush and were told to go home. They did not report the incident to security forces.

Two members of the paramilitary force and two DDF employees were seriously injured during the attack and are still in hospital.

Tshuma and Nkomo were arrested on September 12. They will be sentenced today. Mr Jack Bowen prosecuted.

ZIMBABWE

FORCES KILL THREE ARMED REBELS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 18 Oct 85 p 16

[Text]

BULAWAYO. — Three armed rebels were slain in a clash with security forces who later captured a gunman who had escaped into the bush and tried to blow himself up with a grenade, police said yesterday.

The guerrillas — who called themselves The Killer, Small Boy Dlamini and Rastafarian Nkomo — were shot in a gunfight with Government forces on Tuesday in the Lupane district of northern Matabeleland Province, police said.

He-Man Ndlovu, who escaped and hid in a nearby village hut, told Zimbabwe reporters at the scene of the clash: "I tried to kill myself with a grenade to avoid capture. But the grenade failed to explode after I pulled the pin. I then surrendered."

Senior assistant police commissioner Mr David Tonde, in charge of Matabeleland North, accompanied journalists to Lupane on Wednesday and showed them the bullet-riddled bodies of the

three men killed by security forces.

"We understand that the dissidents were 10 in number so follow-up operations are continuing," the police chief told reporters. He said security forces had been pursuing the gang since October 10.

He said the security forces were hampered because the guerrillas were found in a village and the army had to ensure villagers were not caught in crossfire.

Soldiers and civilians suffered no casualties.

Dissidents is the official term for armed rebels allegedly loyal to Opposition leader Mr Joshua Nkomo. They operate mainly in Matabeleland province in Western Zimbabwe, Mr Nkomo's traditional tribal stronghold.

In separate incidents, police reported that two other rebels were captured in the Esigodini and Gwanda districts of Matabeleland on Monday. They surrendered without a fight, police said. — Sapa-AP.

CSO: 3400/208

ZIMBABWE

## AID PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH PARIS

Harare THE HERALD [Business] in English 10 Oct 85 p 7

[Article by Andrew Rusinga]

[Text]

THE long-awaited \$66 million new French aid protocol to Zimbabwe has been signed.

The private sector will receive \$12,7 million: \$7,1 million to import manufactured goods from France and \$5,6 million for replacement machinery.

The economic and commercial counsellor at the French Trade Commission in Harare, Mr. Christian Saillard, told Business Herald this week that the remaining \$53,3 million had already been committed to specific projects in the public sector. He would not give details.

"This protocol lays heavy emphasis on industrial projects," said Mr Saillard. "Even in the public sector we have tried to be involved in industrial projects, including agro-industries, in addition to infrastructure for rural development."

The aid deal — signed on September 27 between the Ministry of Finance, Economic Planning and Development and Mr Jean de Rosen of the French Treasury — comes after two years of negotiations between Paris and Harare.

The third aid protocol was suspended in 1983 when the Zimbabwe Gov-

ernment requested that it be renegotiated in view of the country's deteriorating balance of payments situation then.

Discussions were then to take place to identify projects which would have an impact on the balance of payments. A compromise was struck during the renegotiations, hence the emphasis on industrial projects that would generate and save foreign exchange.

The other stumbling block was the grace period on the general bias credit element of the protocol. Zimbabwe had asked for a five-year period of grace, a request the French could not meet.

It now seems Franco has softened its terms. "During the negotiations we put a lot of emphasis on the grace period," Mr Saillard said. He would not say what period had been agreed on.

The one-year protocol brings to \$137,18 million the French government's aid commitments to Zimbabwe since independence. The first protocol for \$32,05 million was signed in 1981 and the second for \$39,13 million was signed in 1982.

ZIMBABWE

## YUGOSLAV YOUTH TEAM ENDS TALKS

Harare THE HERALD in English 10 Oct 85 p 3

[Text]

A VISITING Yugoslavian delegation and a Zanu (PF) Youth League team have ended five days of talks in Harare about putting young people to work for socialism.

The four-member delegation from the Conference of the Union of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia left Zimbabwe yesterday confident that several areas of co-operation had been found to maintain contacts.

The president of the union, Cde Silvia Zugich-Riyavels, said discussions with executive members of the Zanu (PF) Youth League had centred on international affairs, exchange of experience in the operations of the two organisations, the role of students and ideas for future co-operation. The talks ended on Tuesday.

She said the union was an independent organisation which was not affiliated to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia or any other body. It was a "unique" social, political

and educational organisation that tackled the problems of youth in that country.

"It is an organisation of youth orientated for a socialist system. There are programmes for resolving the important issues in the social life of the young people such as employment and accommodation problems."

The organisation was able to influence decision-makers through its representation in Parliament and other national bodies.

Cde Zugich-Riyavels said the organisation had frequent exchanges with developing countries and there had been contact with Zimbabweans from the days of the independence struggle.

The Zimbabwean delegates to the talks included Cde John Madzlinga, the secretary for administration in the Youth League, Cde Kenneth Bute, secretary for commissariat and culture, Cde Ratidzo Kutsirai, secretary for publicity and information, and Cde Christopher Chingwaru, secretary for security.

CSO: 3400/208



8 November 1985

## ZIMBABWE

## LOCAL COMPANY PROPOSES SILK VENTURE WITH DPRK

Harare THE HERALD [Business] in English 10 Oct 85 p 7

[Text]

ZIMBABWE may soon have a \$2 million silk manufacturing plant if the Government approves a joint venture proposed made by a local company and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The local company — Zimbabwe-Denmark Trading Company — is also negotiating the possible sale of 20 000 tonnes of Zimbabwean sugar worth about \$9 million to Korea.

Managing director, Mr Claus Dan-Christensen said this week North Korea would provide the spinning mills, the silk yarn and technical know-how. The Zimbabwean company would provide the money. A site has already been found for the plant.

"The silk products will be for export to Europe and the United States," Mr Christensen said.

Mr Christensen recently returned from Scandinavia where he was promoting Zimbabwean cotton garments. He described the sales promotion tour as successful and said there was potential to generate millions of dollars in export earnings.

A sample order of cotton yarn worth about \$40 000 has been ordered by a leading Danish yarn company.

The managing director said many large producers of cotton garments in Scandinavia had expressed concern that Zimbabwe could not supply enough quantities to meet their requirements.

CSO: 3400/213

1985-86 PROGRAM PROVIDES FOR ELECTRIFICATION OF COMMUNITIES

Luanda SADCC ENERGY III in English Aug-Sep-Oct 85 pp 42-44

[Article by G. Evans]

[Text] Zimbabwe has a population of about eight million and an area of 490 450 km<sup>2</sup>. The four municipalities of Harare, Bulawayo, Gweru and Mutare have their own electricity departments supplying a load peaking at 400 MW to most of the 1.5 million people who live within the municipal boundaries.

The Electricity Supply Commission's area of supply is the remainder of the country. At present it has about 75 000 consumers with a maximum demand of 70 MW. These include heavy and light industrial, mining, commercial, agricultural and domestic consumers. The area inside the envelope around the existing supply network covers about 20% of Zimbabwe. A percentage of houses within that area do not have supply.

The majority of Zimbabweans in the ESC licensed area do not have an electricity supply.

Until recently there has been no significant Rural Electrification Programme.

Two attempts were made to obtain foreign aid but the conditions attached to the soft loans, particularly the import of goods of the type manufactured here, led to failure. In May this year, after consultations with the Ministry of Energy, the ESC started its Rural Electrification Programme. In the financial year ending 30 June 1985 the ESC will spend about 3MZD bringing the network to 25 growth centres. In 1985/86 it plans to spend 6MZD, subject to Government approval.

Under the scheme, the ESC will bear the cost of the transmission line to bring an 11 kV supply to each Growth Centre selected. The local 11/0,4 kV transformers and lines will be costed and quotations sent to prospective consumers. Those who return signed agreements with payments of the necessary deposit will be connected to the supply.

Zimbabwe is divided into eight provinces, each of which has a number of districts. At least one province has produced a development plan with twenty functional

maps showing roads, rail, rivers, schools, medical centres and also Growth Centres. The ESC staff has drawn up plans and costed the extensions necessary to provide electricity supply to these centres.

The network is planned to extend through some centres to others, and inevitably the centres most remote from the present network will be supplied later than others. For the 1985/86 Programme the ESC has asked the Provincial Governors to nominate ten centres which they would like to see electrified. The backbone supply to these centres will be costed and the list returned with a request for a selection to be made which would cost the ESC a total not in excess of 0,75 MZD for each province. The choice for at least three provinces was completed early in 1985.

The Government is attempting to encourage people to resettle in an organised manner. There is a hierarchy of settlements.

- 1) Existing cities, e.g. Bulawayo
- 2) Existing towns, e.g. Plumtree
- 3) Growth Centres, e.g. Ingwizi
- 4) District Centres, e.g. Manama
- 5) Rural Service Centres, e.g. Kezi
- 6) Business Centres
- 7) Centralised villages

Provincial Governors appear to be interested in supplies for levels 3, 4 and 5 at the moment. They do not have a uniform approach to priority for electrification because it is a new arrangement. In one province the central officials ask the District Administrators to put forward their recommendations. In another, a travelling committee, consisting of officials from Ministries of Lands, Water, Transport, Physical Planning, the ESC and the province, visits each district in turn and reports back to the province. That particular committee also consults people with knowledge of cultivable areas and seems to be placing high priority on points of supply which would enable crops to be irrigated.

The consultation process is variable according to the province and the ESC may be asked to play a part in it. If a large number of people from various disciplines take part, the resulting selection will pro-

bably be better. However, the ESC is interested to see an early choice so that plans for executing the work can be prepared in time.

**Canvass:** Once the Growth Centres have been selected, the next important step in the process is a canvass. ESC Commercial Staff will spend some time with the District Administrators and at the Centres interviewing prospective consumers. The position and magnitude of possible loads will be identified. This will not be easy for the people who have no experience of electricity. When the canvass is complete a reticulation will be designed to meet these and estimated future loads. The reticulation will be costed.

**Quotations:** The cost of the local reticulation will be divided between known and near future consumers. The quotation sent to each prospective consumer will consist of three parts — a connection fee, a minimum monthly account and a security deposit. The connection fee is the gross cost less an allowance based upon typical revenue from that type of consumer. The minimum monthly account is 2½% of the ESC allowance plus 1% of the connection fee. The security deposit is two months estimated revenue. Consumers who send in signed agreements with cheques will be connected. Those who wait until a later date will be charged the original price quoted.

**Monthly accounts:** The new consumers will be connected through devices similar to those used for existing consumers — that is a mixture of credit meter and load limiters. The latter are miniature circuit breakers rated at either 1, 2½ or 7½ amps, which trip after a delay if the rating is exceeded. Accounts are rendered and collected monthly.

**Construction methods:** The ESC network is mainly overhead. Underground cable is used extensively in the urban networks of the four municipalities mentioned above. The ESC use wood poles for lines up to 33 kV except that in some urban areas concrete poles are used for LV lines. Steel lattice towers are used to support 132 and 330 kV lines. Nearly all lines are three phase. The largest single phase motor made in Zimbabwe is 2 hp.

The network will be extended to some growth points by direct ESC labour consisting of foreman, electrician, linesman and 10-man gang. Contractors will be employed to supply other growth points. One Governor has suggested the use of local labour to reduce costs and to help increase the number of Growth Centres which can be supplied in his province. Discussions are proceeding.

The lengths of circuits in the 1984/85 Program are:			
kV	132 (run at 33 kV)	33	11
Km	115	125	140
Conductor mm <sup>2</sup> ACSR	150	75 & 50	25

Wood poles are made from locally grown eucalyptus trees (Cloesia class AA and grandis or saligna class B strength) and impregnated with imported creosote. The ACSR conductor is locally made but uses imported aluminium and zinc. The transformers are locally made but most of the materials in them are imported.

**Depots:** As the network is stretched new depots will eventually have to be set up. At present two stands have been purchased and negotiations are proceeding for a third.

**Future:** As this whole exercise is new the ESC staff feel that procedures and guidelines are very tentative. They may well be significantly changed in time. We are learning about many problems. We have been offered the loan of two commercial engineers from the Indian Rural Electrification Corporation of New Delhi, who may start work here early next year.

We are aware that isolated Growth Centres can be provided with their own generating station and distribution network. The ESC would be very concerned about staffing then especially when the present staff/load ratio of 1 per 250 kW is considered. A generating station involving locally-based skilled staff is a non-starter. Rotating plant would require a substantial

amount of maintenance. In the case of diesel generation there would also be a fuel problem.

The following are a few comments on renewable sources of energy.

**Biomass:** In the Philippines thermal generating stations are being run on wood chips from the very fast growing ipil ipil (*leucana leucocephalus*) tree. Attempts to grow it here are not well rewarded. Our fastest growing tree, the eucalyptus grandis, grows at a quarter of the speed.

**Wind generators:** Wind turbines driving generators supplying a load which is not connected to a supply network have to be very sophisticated. Load has to be partially disconnected as wind speed falls. The variability of wind brings problems. The main problem in Zimbabwe is that the average wind speed is only 3 m/s which is below the speed at which most wind generators begin to turn.

**Minihydro:** Some attempts have been made to locate suitable sites for minihydro stations but without much success — mainly because most rivers run dry for a large part of the year. However there may well be good potential sites. Five plants in the 10 to 100 kW range are known to be operating.

**Photovoltaic:** The cost of a 400 m<sup>2</sup> photovoltaic array which would produce a peak of 50 kW and, say, 350 kWh per day is about 18000 ZD per peak kW — a total cost of 0.9 MZD. A recent visit by the

New Energy Foundation of Japan, which is a parastatal consisting of the main photovoltaic manufacturers, encourages us to think that grant aid may allow us to install about 200 to 250 kW of arrays. This could be 5 × 50 or 40 × 5 kW installations. Consultations with the Ministry of Energy are proceeding in an attempt to identify suitable sites. They may turn out to be remote from our existing mains. On the other hand they may be close — say within 5 years of a mains extension.

**Conclusion:** The Rural Electrification Programme in Zimbabwe is launched and we are not quite sure what the journey will be like, except that it will be interesting.

ZIMBABWE

## ZAMBEZI RIVER STATES ATTEND TRAINING TALKS

Harare THE HERALD in English 8 Oct 85 p 5

[Text]

**EIGHTEEN representatives of seven Southern African countries and Swapo are in Harare attending a two-week long training seminar on environmentally sound management of water resources.**

Part of the discussions during yesterday's seminar were centred on the proposed action for the environmental management of the common Zambezi River system.

The aim of the project is to promote the development, adoption and implementation of environmentally sound water management in the Zambezi River system, and by this to contribute to the sound socio-economic development in the basin countries.

The river system encompasses eight countries and constitutes for some of them the main water resource.

An expert with the International Training Centre for Water Resources Management, Dr N. C. Thanh, told the participants that the system should make provision for forecasting

runoffs, floods, sedimentation, droughts, water shortages and variations in water quality, soil moisture and water demands.

The action plan calls for the implementation of a comprehensive and effective water quality management programme of surface and ground water resources. The implementation of this quality programme would require the harmonised development of safe drinking water and supplies and sanitation.

The programme would also require that polluting substances be controlled at the source and ensure that the interests of countries downstream be taken into consideration by controlling water levels upstream.

The participants are from Angola, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

CSO: 3400/209

ZIMBABWE

MINISTER SAYS CONSERVATION KEY TO WATER PLAN

Harare THE HERALD in English 8 Oct 85 p 1

[Text]

PLANNERS must dispel the myth that water conservation is just a short-term strategy to alleviate drought, the Minister of Natural Resources and Tourism, Cde Victoria Chitepo, said in Harare yesterday.

The minister was opening the regional training seminar on environmentally sound management of water resources organised by her ministry, the International Training Centre for Water Resources Management (Cefigre), and the United Nations Environment Programme.

She told delegates from eight countries that conservation should be made an integral part of planning future water supplies.

"Continually striving to increase the efficiency of water use is imperative if growth is to continue. Even in nations with untapped rivers and aquifers, measures to

conserve, recycle and re-use fresh water may in many cases make the resource available at a lower cost and with less environmental disruption than developing new supplies.

"Conservation's potential will never be realised until it is analysed as a viable long-term option comparable to drilling a new well or building a new reservoir.

"With an inclusion of cost-effective conservation measures in our water projects substantial savings would accrue both to our governments and communications said the minister.

Cde Chitepo warned that unless watersheds were properly managed large sums of capital spent on dams and other water projects would be wasted and the productivity of cropland would diminish.

"Runoff from deforested watersheds has washed large amounts of soil downstream, threatening a build-up of silt in reservoirs and irrigation canals and a lowering of soil fertility.

"Reforestation and pasture management must always be incorporated in the initial planning stages of dam construction. Managing watersheds to stabilise runoff is critical to reversing a vicious cycle of flooding, soil loss, declining crop production and perennial drought."

The minister said the key to feeding growing populations, sustaining economic progress and improving living standards was learning to use existing water supplies more efficiently.

Water demand had soared in the 20th century with its rapid industrialisation although agriculture still accounted for 70 percent of all use.

CSO: 3400/209

ZIMBABWE

## SMALL FARMS REINVESTING

Harare THE SUNDAY MAIL in English 6 Oct 85 pp 1, 2

[Text]

COMMUNAL farmers reaping the benefits of successful harvests are putting their earnings back into their farms instead of spending their incomes on consumer goods or luxuries.

"They are working hard to improve the quality of life and the future of their children," the World Bank's first full-time representative in Zimbabwe, Mr Mahmud Burney, said in Harare last week.

In its experience as a development institution the World Bank had found this a common phenomenon where appropriate production incentives exist. The bank supported Zimbabwe's agricultural pricing policies which were encouraging communal farmers to improve their land holdings, he said.

"Communal farmers are sacrificing their immediate needs for building a brighter future. To me this is human. I don't think it is a question of capitalism, socialism or any particular -ism."

From 1981-1985 the World Bank group approved 14 projects in Zimbabwe and signed loan and credit agreements of more than US\$404 million.

Mr Burney said the opening last month of a permanent office in Harare added a new dimension to relations between the World Bank and Zimbabwe. It would improve communications between the two sides and give the bank first-hand knowledge of development problems and the Government's responses to the issues involved.

"We have much confidence in the future development prospects in Zimbabwe and as an international development institution we are glad to be a part of it."

Zimbabwe is one of 147 countries which are members of the bank.

"It is often thought that the bank has an ideological bent akin to that of the Western industrialised countries.

"But we are not an ideological institution. In these days of scarce resources both nationally and internationally we try to follow the first principle: the most effective utilisation of scarce resources without saying it should be through this system or that system. We attach no political strings," said Mr Burney, who in 31 years with the

World Bank has spent 20 years engaged in its lending operations, mainly for countries in the Middle East and Africa.

The bank's public sector lending is about US\$12-13 billion a year. Its staff includes technical experts drawn from more than 100 countries with a wide range of development skills. "They come from developed countries, developing ones and socialist countries and many come with years of experience in their own countries.

"This is a valuable asset of the bank and if we can bring the development experience to decision-makers in particular countries on particular issues this, we believe, is a useful service to our member countries."

To date the bank's loans to Zimbabwe include financing for Hwange thermal power station, agricultural extension and research, urban housing development, transport and export promotion through the provision of foreign exchange for priority imports of raw materials, spare parts and components.

ZIMBABWE

BRIEFS

NYATARI DAM OPENED--Nyatari Dam, built at a cost of \$793 000 was officially commissioned by the Minister of Energy, Water Resources and Development, Cde Kumbirai Kangai, in Zaka yesterday. The dam, which was built with funds from the Dutch government, will provide a long-term and reliable water source for Zaka and Jerera rural townships. Building started in October 1983 and ended last year. The dam is 15 metres high and maximum water depth of 12 metres. Engineering and contractual work were all done by the Ministry of Energy, Water Resources and Development. Cde Kangai urged people living around the dam to practise good soil conservation methods to avoid premature siltation. A grant of \$90 000 also from the Dutch government, had been reserved for a 1 000<sup>3</sup> clear water concrete rise reservoir at Jerera. "Construction of the reservoir has started and it is expected to be completed at the end of next month," Cde Kangai said. The reservoir would be gravity-fed from the Zaka storage reservoir and will supply water for Jerera growth point. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 10 Oct 85 p 5]

BANANA CONGRATULATES GDR--President Banana and the Acting Prime Minister, Cde Simon Muzenda, have sent congratulatory telegrams to the secretary-general of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the council of state of the German Democratic Republic, Cde Erich Honecker, for the GDR's 36th anniversary of independence. Cde Muzenda, who is second secretary and vice-president of Zanu (PF), said the GDR had in 36 years "made impressive gains in the socio-economic sphere as well as in safeguarding its independence. "We in Zimbabwe appreciate your active support for the liberation struggle in Southern Africa as well as your assistance in the process of the consolidation of the Frontline States' hard-won independence." Said Cde Banana: "I take this opportunity to reaffirm the earnest wish of my Government and of the people of Zimbabwe for continued understanding and fraternity between our two countries." [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 8 Oct 85 p 5]

MASVINGO GOVERNOR CRITICIZES OFFICERS--The Government cannot continue to condone black officers' incompetence on the grounds of inexperience, the Governor of Masvingo, Senator Dzikamai Mavhaire said yesterday. Opening a week-long Post and Telecommunications Workers' Union leaders course, the governor said dishonesty and incompetence found among some officers were negating Government policy of black advancement. He urged them to



further their education to improve efficiency, but warned that paper qualifications would not count as much as hard work. The governor deplored the inefficiency of the local telephone exchange staff.--Ziana [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 8 Oct 85 p 5]

FIVE ARMY OFFICERS ARRESTED--A government spokesman confirmed yesterday that five senior army officers were arrested last month on allegations of involvement in dissident activities. Those arrested are Brigadier Ndlovu of Army Headquarters KGVI; Brigadier Charles Grey, also of Army Headquarters KGVI; Brigadier Nleya, commander of 4 Brigade in Masvingo; Colonel J. Dube of the directorate of army training at KGVI; and Lt-Colonel Sigoka, also of the directorate of army training. Brigadier Ndlovu, Brigadier Grey and Lt-Colonel Sigoka were arrested on September 24. Brigadier Nleya was arrested on September 26, while Colonel Dube was arrested on September 28. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 8 Oct 85 p 1]

FRENCH WOOING EFFORTS FAIL--Southern Africa: In the Mitterrand administration's grand design for a new foreign policy vis-a-vis the third world, Zimbabwe was to be the anchor for France's influence in the southern part of the continent. Attempts to woo prime minister Robert Mugabe's regime have failed to bear fruit. France, on the other hand, has made progress in expanding ties with both Mozambique and Angola. Much of the French influence in the region goes through a network of unofficial contacts maintained by members of the PS Africanist group. In part, the French southern African initiative within Socialist International (AC Vol 24 No 4 & Vol 26 No 13) is responsible for this breakthrough. [Text] [London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English 1 Oct 85 p 7]

ARMS PROBE UNDERWAY--Harare--A number of serving Zimbabwe soldiers are being investigated on suspicion of having supplied arms to dissidents, a Harare regional magistrate was told this week. The disclosure was made by Mr Robin Cranko while prosecuting two members of Zapu before Mr Jafta Makhaza on charges of the illegal possession of arms of war suspected to have been supplied by the army elements being investigated. Mr Hubert Katupira (61) was charged under the Law and Order Maintenance Act of being in possession of an AK assault rifle and Mr Mene Toddy Ndlovu (31) was charged under the same Act with being in possession of a rifle. Both pleaded guilty and are to be sentenced today.--Sapa [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 18 Oct 85 p 16]

CSO: 3400/208

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